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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MARCH 9, 1899.

The Week.

The expiration of another Congress has occurred under the discreditable conditions which always characterize the end of the "short session," intensified by the unusual demands of the past winter for legislation of the first importance, which needed to be perfected with care and deliberation. There has been for the past fortnight a mad rush to get through, in some shape, one makeshift after another, which would serve to tide over the emergency and prevent the necessity of an extra session. In this way Congress has passed a bill for the reorganization of the army, which is so crude, ill-considered, and haphazard a measure that nearly all the Representatives who finally supported the compromise declared their disgust at the hateful necessity of voting for it.

The lawyers of the War Department are cutting their way through the tangle little by little. They have got as far as discovering that the President for the present can appoint only two major-generals, instead of eight as was supposed; and Gen. Otis and Gen. Shafter have been chosen for the places, on grounds both of seniority and special services. But though it is doubtful how many appointments the President has it in his power to make at once, it is certain that there are ten or twenty candidates for each "place." The White House is thronged with clamorous Congressmen as it has not been since the inauguration. Even those who most vehemently and on the highest patriotic grounds opposed the increase of the army, are hot after appointments in it for themselves or their friends. If a large standing army is going to break down the liberties of the people, they at least want to help do the breaking. But the muddles in the army bill seem to be as thick as the jobs in the river and harbor bill. "Is there a mess here?" inquired Gen. Wilson when, after the relief of Lucknow, he arrived half-mad with hunger at Cawnpore. "Yes, everything is a mess here," was the reply he got. That is what the distraught officials say who are trying to find out what the army bill means.

Speaker Reed never won a greater triumph than the one he scored in the Nicaragua Canal matter. He succeeded in heading off a piece of rash and confused and suspicious legislation, and in substituting for it a rational measure, without the smell of jobbery upon it.

In place of the \$5,000,000 which the Maritime Company was to get as a pure gratuity, under the Morgan act, that persistent beggar has to put up with an item of \$15,000 in the general deficiency bill, to reimburse it for expenses incurred in aid of the Ludlow Commission two years ago. Instead of a hasty appropriation of \$115,000,000 to build a canal which it was not yet known whether it would be possible to build at all, or, at any rate, for twice the money, the compromise provides only for a thorough inquiry, by competent engineers, into the comparative advantages and the cost of all competing routes and plans, and a report to Congress. This is surely but common sense. That the canal should be built is plainly the desire and determination of the country. It is a commercial necessity, and the military argument for it has some weight. But it is certain that if the country wants a canal across the Isthmus, it also wants it wisely and honestly constructed. This has now been made possible, and we owe it to Speaker Reed, whose firm and skilful opposition to a band of desperate speculators has not been displayed in the eye of the public, but has been deserving of the highest praise.

The apathy of the Senate was at last so far overcome that several Senators, including one member of the library committee, publicly announced on Saturday their opinion that the head of the Congressional Library should be a trained librarian of demonstrated capacity. This outcome of the discreditable self-pushing upon the part of several incompetent aspirants for that responsible position is something to be grateful for. It is hardly probable, after this pronounced stand by the Senate, that the President will appoint any but a trained librarian, especially as he has shown a readiness to secure such an official by tendering the place some weeks ago to Mr. Herbert Putnam. Mr. Putnam withdrew his acceptance under an unfortunate misconception of certain circumstances, but has since indicated his willingness to serve. His conduct of the Boston Public Library has been marked by success, and the same is true of his presidency of the American Library Association. Mr. Putnam would undoubtedly be the unanimous choice of the library profession, and there would seem to be no reason why the President should not promptly make him a recess appointment. In another column we call attention to some of the serious problems that would confront any appointee.

A glance at the General Orders which have been issued in Porto Rico by Gen.

Henry since December 28, shows what extraordinary duties and responsibilities are laid upon that officer. From all the accounts we get, we judge that Gen. Henry has shown great energy and intelligence as Military Governor, and has given general satisfaction; but what a thing it is to plunge a soldier into all the intricate details of civil administration! Thus, on December 28, we find Gen. Henry appointing a Board of Health at San Juan, and arranging for similar boards throughout the island, whose powers he defined. Two days later he was issuing a comprehensive order regulating taxation. Postal regulations and obligatory vaccination occupied his attention on January 3. Later in the month we find him promulgating orders designed "to remedy the evils due to unjust apportionments"; reducing notarial fees; abolishing the Insular Cabinet; regulating the use of cemeteries; suspending the foreclosure of mortgages; suppressing a municipal council, on the ground that the councilmen "quarrel with one another, that they refuse to act in the interests of the people, and that money is corruptly used" (oh that we had a Gen. Henry to deal with our Municipal Assembly!); revising the poor and marriage laws, etc., etc. Gen. Henry, in short, appears to be just the man we have heard people long for as the ideal ruler—a benevolent tyrant. He has practically absolute power, and he uses it like another Haroun al-Rashid. It is novel business for an American soldier.

There have been conferences in the Philippines between an Aguinaldo committee and an Otis committee, and the Aguinaldo committee have been making impossible demands, and are not enlightened men; but we are only finding these things out after having slaughtered some thousands of their constituents. The *Evening Post's* correspondent's opinion is that the Filipinos are too wild and heterogeneous to be bound by any one agreement or authority, and "that the people of the United States must make up their minds either to fight for these islands or to give them up." What a prospect fighting for them is, we learn from Gen. Otis's own dispatches. With forty thousand men, which is all we can now spare him, he hopes to drive the natives far enough from Manila to make them stop their skirmishing attacks on the city and suburbs, before the rainy season begins; but to do this he will have to penetrate the jungle. In other words, the most he hopes for this year is to drive the enemy back a little way from one city on the coast of one of the twelve hundred islands, before the hot weather begins. But the hot weather

has begun, and, although our military opinion is worth nothing, our opinion of the effect of military operations in a jungle in the wet weather, on Caucasian troops, as ascertained from the experience of other nations, is, that forty thousand men a year is about what we shall require for the subjugation of the islands, and for several years. The truth is, that those McKinleyites who are waiting to begin "developing" the islands will do well to remember that their "developments" in the interior will have to be protected by the United States troops, and that the American people, who often somewhat change their mind, may get tired of protecting capital in distant places, and become unpleasant to capital. Will not the McKinley band become a little reflective, and reason with Destiny and get her to "let up" a little on Duty?

A learned professor writes in the *Independent* of "Bible Versions which the Philippines Will Need." He specifies ten leading languages or dialects, and shows what the Spaniards have done to reduce these languages to writing, and what translations of what parts of the Bible have already been made in the different vernaculars. But our missionary societies must first determine what kind of Bible, and how interpreted, they mean to give the Philippines. How would the Beatitudes read just now in Tagalog? And suppose the Visayans said they preferred the Imprecatory Psalms? A careful selection of texts might be thrown into the native churches along with the shells from our batteries—such as those about not resisting evil, and turning the other cheek; but it would be just like the obstinate natives to return the compliment with the address of Nathan to David, done in choice Pangasinan, or a Zam-bal version of swearing to your own hurt and changing not. But the whole subject is one filled with difficulties, and we must respectfully turn it over to the Methodist bishops in whose dioceses Canton, Ohio, and Washington, D. C., are situated. Apparently there will be needed a new Bible Revision for use in the Philippines. Where the old rendering was "Heal the sick and say unto them, The kingdom of God is come nigh unto you," we shall have to read, "Mow down the natives like grass and say unto them, The Syndicate has arrived."

A new circuit judgeship has recently been created by Congress in the third circuit, which comprises the States of New Jersey, Delaware, and Pennsylvania, and the place has been offered by President McKinley to Senator Gray of Delaware, who has accepted it. There are various aspects of this incident. On general principles, it is most commendable that a Republican President should

give representation on the bench to the Democracy, at a time when the overwhelming majority of the Federal judges belong to the dominant party. The most creditable action of Benjamin Harrison, bitter partisan that he was, during his Presidential administration, was his giving three of the nine circuit judgeships at his disposition eight years ago to Democrats, and his appointment of a Southern Democrat to the Supreme bench. Mr. McKinley has been slow to imitate this excellent example. Indeed, only a few days ago, he refused to appoint a Democrat to another circuit judgeship when every argument of propriety demanded it—we mean the fifth circuit, comprising the States of Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas; all of which are overwhelmingly Democratic.

If a Democrat were to be appointed by a Republican President in this Northern circuit, it was essential that he should be a man rightly within the range of choice for a high judicial position. Mr. Gray is a lawyer of ability, whose training has been such as to qualify him for good service on the bench. A graduate of Princeton and a student at the Harvard Law School, he was admitted to the bar at the age of twenty-three, and made such progress that by thirty-nine he was the efficient Attorney-General of his State. Upon Mr. Bayard's transference to President Cleveland's cabinet in 1885, Mr. Gray succeeded him in the Senate, where he has served ever since. During the greater part of this period he maintained worthily the traditions of his little commonwealth for eminent service in that body, and a year ago his appointment to the bench would have commanded unqualified approval. We regret being compelled to add that such praise cannot now be bestowed upon the selection. Since Mr. Gray was threatened with an early end of his public life through the Republican conquest of Delaware in 1896, his course has been that of a politician seeking personal advantage rather than that of a statesman who would hold high the standards of public and private duty. His course as a member of the Peace Commission, and still more his extraordinary attempts at defending conduct which had surprised his admirers, startled those who had thought most highly of him; while his astonishing action during the last few days in endorsing that notorious corruptionist Quay, even while the latter is awaiting trial on a criminal charge, as a worthy colleague for honest Senators, has caused a most painful shock.

Editors continue to demand offices, and Governors and President continue to yield to their demands. The *Philadelphia Inquirer* is the chief Quay organ in Pennsylvania, and Quay's Governor

has just appointed the *Inquirer's* editor Health Officer of Philadelphia. The *Chicago Times-Herald* is owned by Mr. H. H. Kohlsaat, who organized the movement to pay off Mr. McKinley's debts a few years ago, and claims that his paper is the special organ of the President. The President has just given the United States district judgeship in Chicago to Mr. Kohlsaat's brother—a man who would never have been thought of for the place if the owner of the *Times-Herald* had not insisted upon his having it. The surprising thing about such performances as these is not the action of the Governor or the President, who shrinks from repulsing a man in control of such a weapon as a daily newspaper, especially when he is under personal obligations to this man; but the state of mind of the editor who is capable of making such a demand, for either himself or one of his family. Nothing could render more ridiculous the conventional boasts about the independence and high-mindedness manifested in "the profession of journalism."

The mystery as to the postponement of Quay's trial, upon the request of the prosecuting authorities, is not as yet cleared up; but some things have leaked out which throw light upon the probable cause. An analysis of the jury panel developed the curious fact that an unusually large proportion of the number came from the Quay wards of Philadelphia. Investigation has shown that a number of personal and political friends of the accused were on the list. One of the panel was a former school-mate of the Senator's son, Dick Quay; a second, a clerk under Collector Thomas; and a third, a member of the Penrose Club, named after Quay's colleague in the Senate. One juror tells a story of having been approached by a politician in the interest of Quay, while another reports that the writ-server who served the summons for jury service on him, deliberately, directly, and distinctly stated to him that "he would be in a position to help Quay and to make a good thing for himself." The significant fact is also noted that, when the District Attorney announced that he had determined to postpone the trial for reasons which he deemed sufficient and which the presiding judge approved, none of the counsel for the defence pressed him to give those reasons or showed the least curiosity concerning them. Altogether it seems reasonably clear that the prosecution had good grounds for apprehension that the work of "jury-fixers" would have rendered conviction impossible if the trial had been opened on Monday last.

Quay has now played his last card in the game. From the first he has relied upon the help of Democratic legislators when success without them should have

been proved impossible. The great obstacle has been the fact that any Democratic member who should vote for Quay would be suspected of having been bribed. To relieve his Democratic allies from this suspicion, it was essential that good reasons for their action should be furnished by respectable men. This has now been done. Ex-Congressman Sibley, one of the leading Pennsylvania Democrats, who has been steadily working in Quay's interest, has induced a number of Democratic Senators and Representatives in Congress to write letters saying that, if no Democrat can be elected, the best course for Democratic legislators is to help Quay to another term. Most of these letters are of the sort that was to be expected. Senator Daniel of Virginia, for example, lauds Quay's "spirit of broad Americanism"—was there ever a political rascal who was not "a good American"? Senator Jones of Arkansas says that Quay "in great struggles stood for the best principles of government," which means that he helped the Democrats in pushing their silver schemes and defeating force-bill legislation. Senators Vest of Missouri and Mitchell of Wisconsin favor Quay's election as the best way of demoralizing the Republican party, believing that, as the latter says, it would "drive a wedge into the Republican party, splitting them wide open."

In the matter of bad legislation, Governor Roosevelt has his opponents in the Legislature surely on the hip. He can not only defeat all their measures, but he can block every one of their raids on the State Treasury through his power to veto separate items of the appropriation bills. It may be that they are foolish enough to think that he will consent to favor some of their jobs if they will promise to let the bills he favors become law; but if so, they do not know their man. He is determined to put a stop to the reckless extravagance which went on during the Black administration, and to prevent, by rigid economy, an increase in the burden of the taxpayers. If he can get good men into the State service—and all of his appointments have been of that character—can stop bad legislation, can detect and punish thieves and rascals, and can put a check to extravagant use of the public money, he can rest secure. Those achievements alone will send us a long distance ahead on the road to good government. As for the more important of the measures which the opposition is holding up—the civil-service, biennial-session, and police bills—we can get on another year or two without these. So far as the first is concerned, the recent decision of the Court of Appeals, placing the Tammany Municipal Commission under the jurisdiction of the State Commission, makes that far less necessary than it was before. It is only desirable now as the formal repeal of the Black

"starchless" law. As for the removed starch, the State Commission is putting that back in a way which leaves little to be desired. The police bill is not a pressing reform measure, and even the biennial-sessions resolution can wait.

There are unmistakable signs of business improvement throughout the country. The cotton manufacturers in city after city of New England are restoring wages to the point from which they were reduced a year ago. A new scale has just gone into effect in the coal mines of the Birmingham (Ala.) district, which gives a decided advance in pay to about 10,000 men. An increase of 10 per cent. in wages for 6,000 employees of the Pennsylvania Steel Company was announced last week, and the Maryland Steel Company made a similar advance, while notices of the same sort come from the West. The action of the cotton manufacturers is based upon improvement in the market for cotton goods, and the other advances of pay upon the higher price of iron. There are no better tests of the purchasing power of the country than the markets for cotton goods and iron, and an improvement in both at the same time is a development of the first importance.

Mr. Kipling's recovery brings relief as general as the anxiety with which his acute illness has been followed by the English-speaking world. No author of his years ever received such a tribute—a tribute, not so much to his achievement as to his promise. Great as the powers have been which he has displayed, and the delight which he has spread in widest commonalty, his most attentive readers have felt that he was only at the beginning of his career. He flashed brilliantly upon the horizon as a new light in the literary heavens. It has been his distinction to appear to be one of those happy writers who, by dint of a fresh handling of the old material, by walking among the oldest and mouldiest literary conventions with a native vigor, succeed in recreating for the world from time to time the vital charm of literature. And there has been no apparent exhaustion of Mr. Kipling's original force. He has held himself well in hand. Money bribes have not tempted him to write himself to the dregs. Such accounts as we have had of the severe conscientiousness with which he does his work, have encouraged us to hope that with him the best was yet to be, "the last of life for which the first was made."

The accession of Sílvela to the head of the Government in Spain promises nothing, we fear, but a new shuffle of politicians. Bitter complaints are heard from Spanish business men that the Cortes wastes time in political squabbles, while measures of economy and reor-

ganization, so imperatively needed, are neglected. The Associated Chambers of Commerce of Spain have put forth an address in which they say, "If public opinion in this country were treated with the respect it deserves, our task would already be done; but this is not the case." They go on to say that, instead of retrenchment, they see an actual increase in the budget, and that the Cortes has not passed a single law calculated to "restore to the country the tranquillity it has lost." These Spanish business men protest against the continuance of "the complete severance between rulers and ruled, governors and subjects," and call for an agitation which will impress upon the authorities the necessity of listening to the intelligent and propertied classes. This commercial movement is a novel thing in Spain, and it is daily growing in power. Successful meetings are held in the principal cities, new organizations are formed in different sections of the country, and there is a rising indignation against the political class which so coolly tells the merchants not to meddle with politics, but to leave all that to the professional politicians.

The threatening announcement addressed by Lord Salisbury to the London County Council before the last municipal election which resulted so disastrously for the Conservatives, produced no results at the last session, but has at last taken shape in a bill introduced by Mr. Balfour. It is, however, something much milder than was expected. Lord Salisbury's speech led people to look for a total dissolution of the County Council and the substitution of a set of small municipalities. The Council had been guilty of "too much politics," which really meant that it had been guilty of sacrificing the West End too much to the East End, in its improvements. The improvements it proposed, or began, might be good things, but it was the East End which most needed them, while it was the West End which had to pay for them, the Council being rather radically disposed. Under Mr. Balfour's bill the Council is left standing, with paramount authority, but—as well as we can understand it, on his statement merely—it is to rule now over thirteen municipalities, to which the Council is to assign powers, and which are to execute any work that the Council says must be done in that particular locality. The city of London proper, the old city, he does not touch. Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, the new Liberal leader, had not much to say against the bill, as described in this introductory statement, except to indulge in a slight fling at the great descent it made from Lord Salisbury's original threat. But this is not by any means the first time in which Lord Salisbury's subordinates have had to tell the world that his "bark was worse than his bite."

DESTINY'S LITTLE BILL.

"Wile our Destiny higher an' higher kep' mountin' (Though I guess folks 'll stare wen she hends her account in)."

This extract from the "Remarks of Increase D. O'Phace, Esquire, Reported by Mr. H. Biglow," should have been printed on Monday over the statement of the appropriations made by the Fifty-fifth Congress; for the grand total, \$1,566,89,016, includes the first payment on account in the settlement of a bill which reads:

"Uncle Sam to Manifest Destiny. Dr.
To one year of Glory.....\$500,000,000."

About \$500,000,000 is the amount fairly chargeable, Chairman Cannon and Mr. Dockery agree, to the Spanish war, but, of course, that account is by no means closed. It is, in fact, only just opened. It is the real "open door," through which an army of 100,000 men will march and a navy doubled in size will sail, and a colonial service will make its entrance—all the logical and inevitable result of the war, all very glorious, but all presenting with distressing regularity their little bill for services. We shall speedily have to reckon in also items which, by the desperate exertions and skillful tactics of Speaker Reed and his lieutenants in the House, were kept out of the account which Destiny handed in during the last session. They succeeded in staving off the Nicaragua Canal bill with its \$115,000,000 (easily expandable into \$200,000,000), the Hawaiian-cable scheme, with its \$2,500,000, and the precious ship-subsidy scheme of the disinterested Hanna, with its \$50,000,000 to \$100,000,000. But we shall hear from them all again in the next Congress; and with no "short session" to block the passage, it will go hard but they too will make their way through the open door of the Treasury.

Even in this Congress, with the Speaker using every atom of his autocratic power to repel the raiders on the Treasury, the amount of incidental extravagance has been scandalously large. It is a curious fact that the only way to defeat a huge steal is to let a number of little steals go through. To prevent grand larceny we have to wink at sneak-thieving. Senator Morgan bitterly reproached Speaker Reed for having consolidated a secure opposition to the Nicaragua Canal bill by allowing a great number of public-building bills and river-and-harbor items of a doubtful nature to slip by him. The charge seems to be well founded. At any rate, a surprising number of Representatives seemed to develop Roman firmness in opposition to squandering public money on the Nicaragua Canal, just in proportion to their being permitted to squander a good bit of it in a new post-office building for Squeedunk. The general result was, naturally, an increase in the ordinary expenses of the Government, as well as in the extraordinary expenses growing out of the war. The Fifty-

fourth Congress was not regarded exactly as an economical Congress, but the present one exceeded its swollen appropriations by no less than \$40,000,000, quite exclusive of the outlay made necessary by the war. It has been a session when "omnibus bills" were successful as never before. An omnibus bill, we may explain for the benefit of the expert, is a bill in which some honest item, like the French claims, carefully passed upon by the courts, is made a sort of carryall for every sort of claim that can possibly be loaded upon it. The result is an "omnibus" in which one respectable passenger sits surrounded by thieves.

Well, what is the outlook for the Treasury? What is the prospect for the taxpayer? Mr. Dockery of the appropriations committee goes into the subject more fully than Chairman Cannon does, though his figures do not differ widely from those presented by the latter in his speech in the House a couple of weeks ago. The Treasury deficit at the end of the current fiscal year will be hard upon \$160,000,000. For the fiscal year 1899-1900 it will be not less than \$100,000,000. The upshot will be that the Treasury will be compelled, a year hence, to look about for new revenue. The \$460,000,000 of money put into it by the sale of bonds during the last five years will have been exhausted. There will then be just three courses open—another issue of bonds, an issue of exchequer bills, which the Secretary is now authorized to make to the amount of \$100,000,000, or new taxes. We say nothing of possible retrenchment, for that is morally impossible for years to come. By 1901, then, the taxpayers of the country will begin to perceive more clearly than they do now what the white man's burden is when translated into terms of cold cash.

It is an essential part of the Imperialistic gospel that salvation for subject races comes high for those who do the saving. The English Imperialists are beginning to worry about this. They find their expenses for the Empire growing uncomfortably large. This year, for the first time in history, the expenses of the English army on a peace footing exceed \$100,000,000. We can give our cousins odds in this game and beat them hollow, as our army appropriations, including pensions, will easily be upwards of \$200,000,000. In England, however, they are nervous over the smaller sum. One troubled member of the Government said the other day, in a speech to a Tory club, that they ought to go about among the people explaining that "Imperialism could not be run on the cheap." But, as Mr. Morley retorted, this is entirely unnecessary, as "the tax-collector is a more telling missionary of that gospel." He is, and he will be busily preaching it throughout this fair land for many years to come.

SHADOWS OF ENGLISH IMPERIALISM.

The colonial Empire of Great Britain undoubtedly represents, on the whole, a great triumph of civilization and philanthropy. Looking back to what India was, what Egypt was, what Cyprus was, before they came under English rule, and comparing their state then with what it is now, no one can think of the transformation as other than beneficent. The waste places of the earth, the habitations of cruelty, which England has seized and into which she has introduced law and industry and the arts of commerce, were taken over by her not primarily in a spirit of benevolence, but in obedience to the expansive push of a highly specialized industrial nation demanding new markets abroad. Yet a higher morality and justice and charity have gone with the trade. Still, the picture is not without its shadows. Current discussions in the English press and in Parliament have clearly brought out facts which show what appear to be the inevitable incidental evils of government forcibly imposed by a superior race upon an inferior one.

The operations of the English army in the Sudan have, in a way, brought as much shame and compunction to philanthropic people in England as the exploits of our soldiers in the Philippines have caused Americans. After the sifting of all the evidence, it is clear that many of the wounded Dervishes were unnecessarily killed. Gen. Gatacre, who was at Omdurman, says that "the composition of the army was such as to demand a close watchfulness being kept over it," and admits that "the Jaalin friendlies had good reason to hate the Dervishes, and I have no doubt that when they got a chance on the sly of knocking a wounded Baggara on the head, they would do so." Still graver is the admission by Gen. Gatacre that British machine-guns swept the crowds of fugitives pressing out of Omdurman, among whom were many women and children. He acknowledges that it was an awful thing to do, killing women and children so as not to allow the Dervishes along with them to "escape unmolested," but justifies it as "one of those necessary consequences which have to be accepted in war." But it has made thousands of Englishmen wince.

Still more disquieting has been the effect of the official admissions respecting the treatment of the remains of the Mahdi. The Government acknowledged in the House of Commons that the Mahdi's body had been dragged from its grave and thrown into the Nile. The Government did not say, but it is asserted by the *Morning Post*, that the Mahdi's skull and some of his bones are "in possession of officers who took part in the campaign." In any case, the rifling of a venerated tomb would, in the course of war with a civilized Power, have been

regarded as a gross and disgraceful outrage. It seems hardly a good way to begin civilizing the Sudanese. The act has been defended as a necessity, in order to show that the Mahdi had not, as the Dervishes are said to have asserted, really gone bodily to Paradise, but that he was just an ordinary mortal and impostor, whose tomb it would be absurd to convert into a second Mecca. But even Tory papers protest that the end did not justify the means, and that it would have been better and, in the long run, wiser to refrain from a deed alien to the spirit of civilization. Characteristically enough, it is the Irish who have made the biggest row about the affair in Parliament, and who threaten to vote against the grant to the Sirdar in consequence.

Even in India, which is the finest example of English government of subject races, the story has its dark side. The natives have been immensely bettered, yet they are discontented—more so just now, it appears, than at any time since the Mutiny. The murder of English officials at Poona a year ago was a startling reminder of the passions that were astir among the people; and now comes the news that the witnesses whose testimony convicted the murderers have themselves been murdered. There is a growing popular agitation on the basis of "India for the Indians," and it is buttressed by such facts as that out of 39,000 officials in the Indian service, 28,000 are English, to 11,000 natives, the latter drawing salaries to the amount of \$15,000,000 a year, while the English salaries amount to \$75,000,000. "In reality," asserts Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, M. P., "there are two Indias—the prosperous India of the British and other foreigners, and the poverty-stricken India of the Indians."

English Imperialism has also a way, like our own, of proving costly beyond all estimates. The Sudan expedition was undertaken on the solemn assurance of the Chancellor of the Exchequer that it was not to cost the British taxpayer one penny. It has, however, already cost him rather more than \$10,000,000; and an item of £215,000 for the Sudan is in the budget now before the Commons. Similarly of other colonial adventures in Africa. Supplementary estimates have an unpleasant way of turning up. For Uganda, for example, the estimate of last March was \$720,000. This, it was explained at the time, was unusually large, as a "mutiny" was in progress. Two weeks ago, nevertheless, an estimate of \$1,690,000 for Uganda was laid before Parliament. No wonder Mr. Morley asks where this thing is going to end.

THE CENSUS SETTLEMENT.

The *Congressional Record* of March 1 contains a report of the proceedings in the House by which the bill for taking

the next census was disposed of. There had been controversies between the two branches of Congress on certain points, which had been referred to a conference committee. Mr. Hopkins of Illinois was the ranking member of the House conferees, and in that capacity explained the settlement which had been reached.

The original House bill had provided for the establishment of a separate Bureau of the Census. The Senate insisted upon making it a branch of the Interior Department, so that the Secretary of that department would be its chief officer. But the change really amounts to nothing, as the Director of the Census is to have full control of the Bureau, and it will be practically a separate establishment.

The really vital questions at issue were as to the disposition of the spoils. These were the only questions in which Representatives had any concern, and their concern in these was very lively. The first issue was as to the supervisors, of whom there are to be 300. It had been proposed at first that these officials should be appointed by the President absolutely. The Senate demanded that the advice and consent of that body should be required. The House conferees yielded to this demand. But the question was at once raised whether under this system the Senators would not seize more than their fair share of these 300 offices. "Does not the gentleman think," asked a colleague of Mr. Hopkins, "that under that proviso of the agreement that gives the Senate the right of confirmation as to supervisors, the chances are that the Senate will have the advantage as to that particular class of appointees over the House of Representatives?" The Illinois Representative was hopeful that this deplorable result would not follow. "I think not," he said, and added: "We found on examination that all of the previous census bills had provided for confirmation of supervisors by the Senate, and, it being an unbroken practice, they were unwilling to yield, and we felt that in the interest of the public service we had better agree to the Senate amendment in that respect."

Much more important was the question as to the thousands of appointments that are to be made in the Washington office. This is the provision of the bill:

"That the chief clerk and the chief statisticians provided for in section 4 of this act, and all other employees authorized by this act below the Assistant Director of the Census, shall be appointed by the Director of the Census, subject to such examination as said Director may prescribe: Provided, That no examination shall be required in the case of enumerators or special agents, nor of employees below the grade of skilled laborers at \$600 per annum."

It was this section of the bill which chiefly interested the members, and Mr. Hopkins was pressed for a full explanation as to whether the places were to be "under the civil service"—that being the almost invariable Congressional method of expressing the idea that of-

fices are under the competitive system established through the operation of the civil-service law. This was the way the discussion on the point began:

"Mr. Dockery—What provision is made as to the appointments? Are they under the civil service?"

"Mr. Hopkins—The appointments are not under the civil service, but it is provided that, aside from the enumerators and special agents, the appointments must be made on merit, and that the appointees must first pass an examination provided for by the Director of the Census."

But Representatives could not afford to have the slightest doubt left on this point, and so one after another pushed the inquiry in this fashion:

"Mr. Brosius—The examinations are under the control of the Director?"

"Mr. Hopkins—They are under the control of the Director. The language is substantially the language of the House bill."

"Mr. Brosius—Such examinations as he shall direct?"

"Mr. Hopkins—Yes."

"Mr. Handy—These examinations are entirely noncompetitive, are they not?"

"Mr. Hopkins—They are supposed to be noncompetitive, but will be of a character that will insure the highest degree of merit and efficiency."

The conclusion of the whole matter was expressed in a graphic phrase which Gov. Black of New York has made well understood throughout the country:

"Mr. Handy—The starch is all washed out of the civil-service provision, is it not?"

"Mr. Steele—I hope so."

"Mr. Hopkins—Well, I do not know about the starch."

Such was the low plane upon which the House of Representatives treated the arrangements for a great national enterprise, which is to reflect credit or disgrace upon the United States, not only in 1900, but whenever in the future the census volumes shall be consulted, at home or abroad. The only questions in which Congressmen are interested are whether the census places are to be made spoils, and whether Representatives are to stand as good a chance at the spoils as Senators. In short, Congress has done all that it could to eliminate expert ability from the Census Bureau and to wreck this great work.

The sole hope of avoiding this wreck rested with the President. The right sort of Director might still save the census. The law provides that appointments shall be made "subject to such examination as said Director may prescribe." Under this provision he can prescribe a standard which will rule out the whole gang of worthless protégés of the spottsmen whom Senators and Representatives expect to unload upon him. Mr. McKinley might have secured for the position an almost ideal man in the person of Carroll D. Wright, who stands at the head of our statisticians, who has shown himself a first-class executive, and who has had the experience so desirable for the work in 1900 through his completion of the last census after Mr. Porter's withdrawal. That "Destiny" in whose hands Mr. McKinley says we are helpless, would appear to have made it inevitable that the President should

nominate him for Director, simply because "Providence" had trained him to do the work in the best possible manner. But "Destiny" and "Providence" seem in this instance to have been worsted by the demands of a persistent office-seeker, who insisted upon a reward for services to the President in securing his nomination and election for the present term, and whose coöperation is desirable in the political work that must be done with reference to a second term. So the place goes to ex-Gov. Merriam of Minnesota, as the only thing left in the President's gift "equally as good" as other offices which this politician has persistently but vainly sought since November, 1896. It would be ludicrous if it were not so outrageous that a man should be made director of a great statistical enterprise who has never had the slightest experience in statistical work, and who is expected to run the Bureau upon the same spoils principles which alone secured a moment's consideration of his name. For the second time a Republican Administration debauches the census in the interest of party supremacy.

THE LIBRARIANSHIP OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

The present is a critical moment in the history of the Library of Congress, which is without an executive head. The man who shall finally be appointed to this responsible position will affect the Library, for weal or for woe, for a long generation. Even under ordinary conditions the responsibility of this appointment would be great, but there are peculiar circumstances connected with the librarianship at this time which make the situation unusually grave, and which demand the most serious consideration.

On the 30th of June, 1897, the Library of Congress consisted of a collection of books, maps, and such art works, engravings, etc., as had been received through the operation of the copyright law, crowded into inadequate quarters in the Capitol, with a staff of forty-two people, consisting simply of a chief and his clerks; the force being practically without organization. On January 1, 1898, six months later, the Library found itself spread out in its new, palatial quarters on Capitol Hill, covering acres of ground, with a force, besides the Librarian, of one hundred and thirty-two people, divided by legislative enactment into nine departments under subordinate heads. While the material part of the Library was thus promptly housed in one of the solidest structures in the United States, the library organization itself, formed only to the extent of filling the places provided by Congress, was like a huge, inflated balloon wobbling about in mid-air until those numerous anchor lines which true organization require should have been attached to its firm, material base and drawn properly

taut. The last six months of 1897 (the first six months of the reorganization of the Library) were consumed in making the new appointments required by the act of reorganization and in removing the collections into the new building—two difficult tasks, the proper execution of which would have fully justified this amount of time. Since that period more than a year has passed; and with a view to a correct understanding of what will devolve upon the new Librarian, it is desirable to state frankly what the situation is at this moment.

The late Librarian failed to adjust the elaborate and intricate organization to the great structure, and, although nineteen months have elapsed since the reconstitution of the Library, the departments, with the exception of the three principal ones, have not even been located, and, excepting the reading-room and to some extent the Copyright Office, none is settled and fully equipped for its work, but is, as it were, merely camping in some one of the magnificent halls of the Library building, with such temporary fittings and furnishings as could be obtained. Here, then, is one important task awaiting the new Librarian.

Of necessity, the act reorganizing the Library was drawn in advance of the removal to the new building, and without the aid of the knowledge which is gained only by experience in administering a large library on modern lines. It is consequently noticeably deficient in some directions. Salaries were provided for positions which are still non-existent, and some of which are likely to remain so; while other positions which a trained librarian, experienced in handling a library of parallel importance, would at once have seen to be absolutely necessary, were omitted altogether. The act referred to provides for a librarian and a force of 132 clerks. The duties of the librarian, besides the proper general supervision, involve the expenditure of all moneys appropriated for the purchase of books and supplies; and yet there was no provision for so important an adjunct as a "chief clerk." This defect has been made good only in this year's appropriations. The act failed to make any provision for an order and supply department. Every librarian of experience knows the importance attaching to this division of a library, and how great is the necessity for its proper equipment. But this necessity is especially great in the case of the Library of Congress because of the arrears in the book-purchasing, which will require special efforts in order that the lamentable gaps in the collection shall be made good. It should be remembered, also, that, as the copyright law provides the Library with copies of the ordinary current publications, the buying must be largely of foreign books, and must be supplement-

ed by well-devised and intelligently carried-out methods for filling up gaps in the equally important classes of literature not obtainable by purchase. In other words, this department of the Library should be one of weight, with a well-instructed, competent man at its head, supported by an adequate clerical force.

At present, the serious difficulties due to inadequate provisions for administration, such as we have cited, are met as best they can be by extemporized and unsatisfactory expedients. The incoming librarian must face the difficult problem of carrying on this great institution with an ill-adjusted and insufficient clerical equipment, until he can clearly formulate the urgent necessity of the Library in these particulars, properly present the same to Congress, and obtain provision for its administration commensurate with its needs. It is to be borne in mind that the Library, so far as its collection of books, maps, engravings, newspapers, and music is concerned, stands first of all the libraries in the country, while in its provisions as to administration it is probably behind the half-dozen leading municipal libraries in the United States.

But, serious as are the problems outlined above, the new incumbent will be met by yet another even more grave and fundamental, and which should be dealt with at the start if justice is to be done to the work of the Library, or true success secured for himself as its executive head. As yet, no comprehensive, coherent scheme of administration for the Library seems to have been applied or even framed. The result is, that there is neither the coördination nor the cohesion desirable in the different divisions of the Library, nor do they make a homogeneous whole or intelligently co-operate with one another. As a consequence, there is waste by reason of duplication of work and because the different departments work toward diverse ends. This is probably not from want of desire to coöperate, but simply because no general plan of work has been established so that each division of the Library has its understood part, and the work accomplished in any one department adds to the general advancement of the whole. No satisfactory result can be obtained in the long run without some such comprehensive scheme of administration; and it is clear that the new librarian will need to devise one first of all.

In doing this he will encounter his most serious difficulty. We have already referred to the inadequacy of the force, but this is exhibited even more in quality than in quantity. The selection of the present heads of departments in the Library of Congress was undoubtedly conscientious; but, as a consequence of giving way to the strong political and social pressure brought to bear in

behalf of incompetent or otherwise disqualified clerks in subordinate positions, these executive heads were left without proper material. The evil is not to be measured simply by the number of incompetents. The method of appointment instills an insidious poison which in time contaminates the whole force, rendering discipline practically impossible, and inevitably leading to disaster.

CARL SCHURZ.

Carl Schurz, whose seventieth birthday was publicly celebrated on Thursday night, is probably the only German-born citizen whose literary and political careers in the United States have both been a decided success. We do not mean to say that no other has equalled him in capacity, but no other has possessed nearly the same command of the English language; and this, in an English-speaking country, must of course be the first condition of eminence in public life. Among Mr. Schurz's various gifts, indeed, the gift of language must be considered the most remarkable. The number of Germans who speak English, and speak it well, is, of course, great. There are many Germans who make a respectable figure at the bar, but we know of none except Schurz who can claim a place in the first rank of American orators, without having to struggle for it, without having to argue about it, without having to explain why he ought to have it. There is really nothing in his speech for which he has to claim indulgence except a slight accent. We have been present when we knew he had been taken unawares, and when extempore speech was a necessity if he was to speak at all, and have listened to the faultless flow of his English with a feeling of amazement.

But skill in language alone would not make an American orator of Mr. Schurz's kind. There lie, behind all speech, regions of national or race mind, fields of political ethics, in which, if you do not wander in youth, you rarely wander afterwards; things which have to become possible or impossible to you through habit and association, not through books or instruction; things which are most easily described under the general term local political sense, the possession of which alone enables you to know how the millions around you of all classes and conditions are feeling. This is as necessary to an orator as language, perhaps more so. Without it, talk he never so well, he talks as a foreigner, and, too, can only grope his way to the national heart. This quality Schurz has, and no other German who has come among us has, within our knowledge. He knows how Americans feel without having it explained to him. He has got the Anglo-Saxon point of view. It may not always be the right view, or the view most easy to

defend artistically, but it is the view you must understand if you mean to be a political orator, and Schurz understands it. He was thus equipped as no other German has been for a career of public usefulness, and he began early. He was luckily but a youth when he was exiled from his native country, and he saw without hesitation what a country this might be to a man of his peculiar talents. He never wavered in his allegiance to it in the succeeding eventful years. Judged by the usual American political tests, he was not a success, for his official career has been short and troubled. He did a little diplomacy, a little soldiering, a little legislation, and a little administration—it was all well done, but it was not done in the way which, in the present conditions, gives a man a firm hold on American official life.

In short, he has not been a successful politician, as the term politician is understood among us to-day. Of him it is not true that thrift has ever followed fawning. He has never spoken for any party, and he has never had any party behind him, and unhappily continuous service is rarely possible in American public life in these days, unless a man devotes himself to a party and sees all public questions through party spectacles. But we do not think we exaggerate when we say that the better a man serves his party in our time, the less of a statesman he becomes. Schurz has never been willing to sacrifice the loftier position and the more enduring memory. He always sowed for the immortal gods. We cannot recall a single incident in his long career which one might cite as a distinct failure of judgment except the support he gave to Greeley's unfortunate candidacy in 1872. But even this mistake had virtue in it, for a host of good men saw in Greeley the promise of better things.

From the day Schurz landed in the country to this, his seventieth year, we can think of no good cause that he has not helped, no stream of evil which he has not sought to stem, and there have been many. No moralist has ever had a moment's doubt on which side of any public question he would stand. There was never any fear that he would come in when the "party bell rang," unless it rang for truth and liberty and justice. He was never ready to sacrifice his personality to any cause unless he was right well assured that it was a good one. We might cite many instances in which his eloquence served, or sought to serve, the state, but this task was well performed by the orators who portrayed his life at the late banquet. We seek simply to hail with thanks and congratulations a man who, in closing an illustrious career, can truly say that from prime to eve he has obeyed only one voice, and that has been the voice

which, since the dawn of civilization, has called the race to higher things.

THE LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND POLITICAL SCIENCE.

OXFORD, February 20, 1899.

As one looked round the spacious and well-filled International Hall of the Café Monico in Piccadilly Circus on February 11, on the occasion of the annual dinner of the London School of Economics and Political Science, one could hardly help rubbing one's eyes with a certain amazement. The School is only four years old, and, as most of those present were undoubtedly aware, it was in a sense the creation of the Fabian Society—that interesting body of middle-class and opportunist Socialists whose name, before imperialism dawned upon England, was in every one's mouth. In this sense only the creation of the Fabian Society, let me hasten to say, that it was by two or three of its leading members in their individual capacity that the School was planned, and the few hundred pounds obtained for initial expenses. Still, one might have supposed that that would have been enough to damn the undertaking; and yet the predominant note of the dinner in question was not merely that of success; it was that of respectability, so dear to the British bosom. That Sir Frederick Pollock, one of the few jurists known on both sides of the Atlantic, should take the chair, might have been an act of chivalry; that Mr. McKinnon Wood, the chairman of the London County Council, and Lord Reay, the chairman of the London School Board, should propose the toast of the School, might, perhaps, have been expected, for in both those bodies Progressive majorities are now in power; but that a great judge like Lord Justice Vaughan Williams, and a great civil servant like Sir Courtenay Ilbert, should come to express their satisfaction, was, indeed, significant. And when, from the opposite ends of the hall, first Mr. Bryce, that incarnation of sound sense, and then Mr. Leonard Courtenay, that pillar of economic "orthodoxy," rose to give the School their blessing, one felt that its victory was indeed complete.

But such a success cannot have been won by mere craft; it is the just reward of the honesty of the creators of the School, among whom Mr. Sidney Webb deserves the first place. They said that they intended the School to be absolutely independent of all economic or political creeds, and they have kept their word; they secured as its Director Mr. W. A. S. Hewins, who, if he has a bias at all, is probably an individualist at heart; and Mr. Hewins has managed to obtain the services, for longer or shorter courses of lectures, of a surprisingly large number of the men who are generally recognized as competent to speak on their several topics. To mention some of those who this year are giving regular and systematic instruction, besides the Director, who teaches economic history, Mr. Edwin Cannan undertakes "the groundwork of economic theory," and Prof. Foxwell, trade, banking, and currency; Mr. Acworth lectures on railway economics, Mr. Lowes Dickinson and Mr. Graham Wallas on political theory, and Mr. Hubert Hall on palaeography. All of these are names well known to American scholars. Shorter courses are given occasionally by such men as Prof. Edgeworth and Mr. R. H. I. Palgrave.

Teachers like these have naturally attract-

ed students. The total number of individuals registered for one or more courses in 1895 was 285; it is now over 400; of these there are some 80 who are pursuing a definite two-years' course and give the greater part of their time to it. Among the students there are perhaps fifty of the junior members of the civil service, taking courses on finance or other subjects bearing upon their official duties, and a like number of railway officials are taking railway economics; a score or more of the servants of the County Council and of the vestries attend lectures on municipal administration, and another score of bank clerks come to those on banking. In all these subjects a great deal of systematic instruction is possible, quite aloof from mere "matters of opinion." There is evidently an increasing amount of what the Germans call Administration to be got through somehow in a modern community; and he would be a pessimist indeed who held that experience had absolutely nothing to teach us. As all the courses of the School are given in the evening, there is no reason why an increasingly large number of the younger officials in London should not benefit by its instruction—especially if they suspect that their official superiors look with favor upon it; and herein will lie, perhaps, the main usefulness of the School. It is this that justifies the Technical Education Board of the London County Council in making the grant which now furnishes the School with its largest source of income. But it does not appeal to officials alone; and it is significant that it is already attracting both men and women who have been engaged in charitable work in "settlements" and elsewhere, and who begin to feel the want of some systematic study of the problems they once attacked with ignorant ardor.

Of the future of the School the Director and the Committee have noble visions. They have already helped in the work of reforming the examination requirements of the University of London; and they anticipate that in the near future the School will practically be recognized as the Faculty of Economics and Political Science in the teaching University about to be established. This is an anticipation in which Mr. Bryce and Lord Reay took pains to make clear that they both share. At present, moreover, the School has to be content to claim but a small part of the time, and to contribute but a small increment to the income, of teachers whose main obligations are to other institutions, such as the older Universities. But, of course, the School will not be worthy of its name until it can of itself provide a career and an income for a body of eminent scholars. That time is not in the immediate future, but it may reasonably be looked forward to.

Meanwhile, it is already worth while to ask what the School has to offer to American students. It will not be thought to be a reflection upon the School when it is said that men of ability, who have duly benefited by the teaching already provided in half-a-dozen or more of the American universities, will find the greater part of the ordinary regular instruction somewhat too elementary for their needs. Those who have taken their bachelor's degree in other subjects, and are beginning their study of economics as graduates, might assuredly do well to spend a year at the School, though, as one might expect, the lecturers have usually but little special knowledge of American conditions. But the

persons who will profit most by the existence of the new institution, are those who think of coming to England to investigate some particular group of concrete facts as to English commercial or industrial conditions. In the rooms, quiet enough during the day, which the School has secured overlooking the Thames (at No. 10 Adelphi Terrace, W. C.), they will find a useful collection of printed material. The "London Library of Political Science," which is in process of formation, aims especially at the collection of reports, blue books, circulars, annual statements, balance sheets, etc.—all that "literature," in short, which it is usually so difficult to get hold of in sufficiently large quantities for purposes of comparison and criticism. And as the Director makes it his business "to keep in touch" with business men and officials all over the kingdom, there is perhaps no one to whom a student, with proper credentials, can go with a like certainty of obtaining the advice and the introductions necessary for his purpose. Already this is realized in other countries; and an American student who comes with such objects in view can even now exchange ideas with men from Brussels and Berlin and Munich and Moscow.

W. J. A.

Correspondence.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS ON QUIXOTIC IMPERIALISM.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: On the 4th of July, 1831, John Quincy Adams delivered an oration at Washington, his subject being "The Mission of America." In this address he used language which, it seems to me, it is worth while to bring before the public just now:

"She [America] has abstained from interference in the concerns of others, even when the conflict has been for principles to which she clings, as to the last vital drop that visits the heart. She has seen that, probably for centuries to come, all the contests of that Aeldama, the European world, will be contests between inveterate power and emerging right. Wherever the standard of freedom and independence has been or shall be unfurled, there will her heart, her benedictions, and her prayers be. But she goes not abroad in search of monsters to destroy. She is the well-wisher to the freedom and independence of all. She is the champion and vindicator only of her own. She will recommend the general cause by the countenance of her voice and the benignant sympathy of her example. She well knows that, by once enlisting under other banners than her own, were they even the banners of foreign independence, she would involve herself, beyond the power of extrication, in all the wars of interest and intrigue, of individual avarice, envy, and ambition, which assume the color and usurp the standard of freedom. The fundamental maxims of her policy would insensibly change from liberty to force. The frontier upon her brows would no longer beam with the ineffable splendor of freedom and independence; but in its stead would soon be substituted an imperial diadem, flashing in false and tarnished lustre the murky radiance of dominion and power. She might become the dictatress of the world; she would no longer be the ruler of her own spirit."

I applaud the strong fight which the *Nation* is making against the new craze, and believe future elections will show, if the Democrats have sense enough to give the voters a chance, that the people are more level-headed than the money-grabbers think. The impression is gaining ground that the "war for humanity" was begun and carried on for the

benefit of those who are already dangerously rich and powerful. If "imperialism" is successful, the above quotation from ex-President Adams will take its place among inspired prophecies.

T. A.

SANDUSKY, OHIO, March 4, 1899.

THE CLERGY AND THE WAR.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Incidentally you have drawn attention to the attitude of the Christian clergy of the United States with respect to the war debauch which has swept the country during the past year. In this city, with hardly an exception, the sentence of the ministers of the Christian religion, like that of Moloch in the infernal council, was and is "for open war." This was alluded to by Gov. Pingree a few weeks ago when he introduced Dr. Fuller of Boston, an eloquent missionary of peace, to a small audience of 300, assembled in the Armory Hall of this city. Whatever else Mr. Pingree may be, he has from the first been a consistent denouncer of the present war of conquest. Upon introducing Dr. Fuller, he said in substance: Where are the ministers to-night? Why are they not here when we meet to talk of peace? I remember a few months ago, when the cry was "War! war!" that they nearly trampled upon one another in their endeavor to reach the platform and pour forth the volumes of their warlike eloquence. Not one is here to-night!

As I listened, I thought of the noble words which Landor puts into the mouth of Melancthon:

"*Melancthon.* Cannot we agree to show the nations of the world that the whole of Christianity is practicable, although the better parts never have been practised, no, not even by the priesthood, in any single one of them? Bishops, confessors, saints, martyrs have never denounced to king or people, nor ever have attempted to delay or mitigate, the most accursed of crimes, the crime of Cain, the crime, indeed, whereof Cain's was only a germ, the crime of fratricide, war, war, devastating, depopulating, soul-slaughtering, heaven-defying war. Alas! the gentle call of mercy sounds feebly, and soon dies away, leaving no trace on the memory; but the swelling cries of vengeance, in which we believe we imitate the voice of heaven, run and reverberate in loud peals and multiplied echoes along the whole vault of the brain. All the man is shaken by them; and he shakes all the earth.

"*Calvin.* I beseech you, do you, who guide and govern so many, do you (whatever others may) spare your brethren.

"*Melancthon.* Doubtful as I am of lighter texts, blown backward and forward at the opening of opposite windows, I am convinced and certain of one grand, immovable verity. It sounds strange; it sounds contradictory.

"*Calvin.* I am curious to hear it.

"*Melancthon.* You shall. This is the tenet. There is nothing in earth divine beside humanity."

If the Rev. John Watson, alias Ian Mac-laren, be accepted as the spokesman of the Christian priesthood, a sufficient answer, as delivered at Philadelphia a few days ago, is, "In our time we have had considerable areas of the earth's surface thrust by Providence upon us." Thus it seems possible that strangers to the real parties in interest, by Providential dispensation, may transfer whole empires, together with their inhabitants, by simple gift *inter vivos*. By the same logic, the thief who steals the Reverend Dr. Watson's purse will offer a complete defence to a charge of robbery by pleading that the purse was providentially thrust upon him by the Almighty.

Dismissing the ethical unrest involved in

the act of taking possession of "considerable areas" of other people's property, one is tempted, at the risk of being thought irreverent and impertinent, to ask why the Divine Donor imparted such full and perfect knowledge of his real-estate transactions to the reverend gentleman, when he has seen fit to leave innumerable other souls to grope in Egyptian darkness in the endeavor to make out the links in the chain of title.

"May the Lord deliver us from all cant and damnable palaver."

WILLIAM H. HOCKADAY.

DETROIT, MICH., March 4, 1899.

"THE LIMITS OF OUR KNOWLEDGE."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: An interesting letter in your issue of March 2 raises, in a special case, a question by no means new, and of much wider application. In using a language no longer spoken, to what extent may we properly be called upon to produce examples from its classic writers for the very words and phrases which we employ; and how far are we justified in following natural and unstrained analogies? How much, for example, may we take for granted with regard to forms not actually found in what remains to us of classical Latin? May we, or may we not, use a form of expression analogous to one found in some classic author, but not identical with it? There is an antecedent probability that the wisest course is one equally removed from license and from slavishness. That we cannot freely extend idioms even in our own language needs no demonstration. We speak of a stream "running dry"; we should hardly venture to say "flowing dry," although, in regard to streams, "to run" and "to flow" are synonyms. On the other hand, when we have occasion to use any form, however strange, of any verb in the language—such an uncouth form, let us say, as "thou circumventedst"—do we ever think it necessary to justify ourselves by a precedent? Do we even care whether anybody has ever used this particular form before? And why should we think that the ancients felt otherwise? In Latin there are verbs known to be defective. We do not attempt to use, say, the first and second persons plural of the present indicative of *ato*, a verb known to be defective, although all the rest of that tense is found. But does this in any way imply that, in the case of common verbs, not known to be defective, we dare not use whatever form we may need of a tense against which we have no warning? Must I find *amavistis* in some author of repute before I venture to use it? No one will say so. In short, when the ancient grammarians have left us no warning that a verb or noun is defective, we cannot be required to limit ourselves wholly to forms of that verb and cases of that noun which, if challenged, we could produce out of some classic author. This would be, not merely to acknowledge a language to be dead, but wantonly to kill it. Let us now apply these general ideas to the letter referred to. We shall see that the learned writer has joined together two cases which do not stand in the same predicament.

With regard to the impersonal use of the passive infinitive of *ire* with the first or accusative supine of purpose to form a substitute for the absent passive infinitive, it is evidently impossible, if there is no supine; and, while I believe that the assumption that a supine never existed if not found in our

scanty remains of the language is open to criticism, I am ready to say that it is safer to avoid using it, because we know many verbs, and whole classes of verbs, that have no supine. But I cannot but regard your correspondent's remarks on *fore ut* as downright pessimism. For I think I may defy any one to give a respectable reason why *fore ut* should be right with one verb and not with all verbs not known to be defective in the required form of the subjunctive. As to Plautus and Terence, that is no doubt specially true of their conversational language which is true in a less degree even of literary Latin of the most formal type, that periphrastic forms were avoided willingly, if not sedulously. Instead of "Argyrippus spero *fore ut* possit exorari," the comic dialogue prefers to say "Argyrippus exorari spero poterit." And so I should be likely to express myself on the football ground, in the case proposed by your correspondent, "Nostri, credo, vincentur." But I am not ready to admit that I should not be equally right in using the formula *fore ut* with this or any other verb not known to be defective in the form required. And, as to what Cicero or Quintilian would think of it, that is a question which may be put off to the day when we can confidently say just what Chaucer would think of such perfectly proper expressions as "mental gymnastics" in the letter referred to. In all things, we poor mortals must be content to use partial knowledge under pain of never doing anything. We all write, more or less, in our own language; but which of us can say that he knows his mother tongue perfectly, even as now spoken? Have we not all heard of that learned grammarian who picked flaws in the Latinity of Cicero himself, and did not hesitate to call him an Allobrogian? FRANCIS PHILIP NASH.

GENEVA, N. Y., March 4, 1899.

"THE LAW OF THE ROAD."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The frontispiece to *Harper's Magazine* for January, an equestrian picture of Gen. N. B. Forrest, illustrating Dr. Wyeth's excellent article upon the Confederate cavalry leader, mentioned in your issue of the 9th inst., struck me at first as a palpable blunder on the part of the artist. Several "horse" men of my club failed to see what at a glance was obvious to me: the rider grasps his reins with his right hand. I made merry over the artist, and fully committed myself before the text had shown me that Forrest was a left-handed man and wore his sabre upon his right side. I had served near Forrest at Shiloh (Pittsburgh Landing), and had known him quite intimately after the war. Although I could detect at a glance that the bridle was held in the wrong hand, I had failed to observe that the living man was left-handed.

This led me to reflect on road law. When, in 1865-'66, in the course of my law studies, I read that "Keep to the left" is the law of the road in England, I supposed it was a mistake of writer or printer. It was inconceivable how the colonists, fresh from the mother country, could exactly reverse one of the most useful of English customs, most in daily use, and most likely to be, traditionally and by habit, preserved. That custom must first have grown up among horsemen, long before vehicles were in use. Most men are right-handed. To mount upon the left required that the left should be the bridle-

hand, thus leaving the stronger hand free to draw the sword. Awkward as it is now to mount upon the right, or to hold the bridle with the right hand, I can conceive of no other reason for it than the necessity for leaving the strong right hand free for use.

This granted, two equally good reasons appear why "Keep to the left" should have been the law of the road. It is easier and more natural to draw the rein to the bridle-hand side. My recollection of riding days is that horsemen lost by night make the lost-circuit to the left, as a lame man gyrates to the side of his shorter leg. The stronger reason, perhaps, is that the mounted cavalier, in those palmy days, had good reason to have the approaching traveller upon his right. Thus he could, at once, draw his sword from the left and cut or thrust upon his right, or strong-hand, side.

These reasons are entirely satisfactory to me as to the origin of the English "law of the road." They leave wholly unexplained the more curious and more interesting question, Why did our colonial ancestors change it to "Keep to the right"? The law-books are silent altogether as to that. The older text-books devote but meagre space to roads and highways. Blackstone gives little more than three pages to the subject of easements. In Elliot on Roads and Streets, p. 618: "In England the customary rules of driving are: 1st. In meeting, each party must keep to the left." In a note it is said:

"This rule is thus stated in an old rhyme:

"Tis a law of the road,
Though a paradox quite,
If you keep to the left,
You'll always be right."

The author continues: "In this country a different custom or system of rules has grown up. . . . The first and most important rule is, that, in meeting, each party shall keep to the right." Cases are cited from Delaware, Maine, Michigan, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Wisconsin. It is also laid down that, in the absence of a statute, proof of this custom is not necessary, for the courts will take judicial cognizance of it. In the American and English 'Encyclopedia of Law,' vol. 12, p. 957, the rule is laid down and cases are cited from Maine, Massachusetts, New York, Kentucky, New Hampshire, and Connecticut.

The New England colonists were not, at least for some years, I think, a riding or a driving people. The Virginia colonists were a riding people almost from the first settlements. I might suspect that the latter had, at least at first, brought over the traditional rule of the mother country. But all the authorities seem to agree that the rule is universal in America, "Keep to the right." I can find no warrant for a belief that it has ever been otherwise in any of the colonies.

H. M. DOAK.

NASHVILLE, TENN., February 20, 1899.

Notes.

Doubleday & McClure Co.'s spring announcements include the Temple Edition of Dickens's Works in forty volumes (in connection with Dent & Co.); 'With Sampson through the War,' by W. A. M. Goode; 'Life Masks of Great Americans,' by Charles H. Hart; 'The United States of Europe: On the Eve of the Parliament of Peace,' by W. J. Stead; 'The Real Hawaii,' by Lucien Young, U. S. N.; 'How to Plan the Home Grounds,'

by S. Parsons; 'Within the Hedge,' verse, by Martha Gilbert Dickinson; 'Nature's Garden,' an aid to our knowledge of wild flowers, by Neltje Blanchan; and 'A Voyage to the Moon,' by Cyrano de Bergerac.

Houghton, Mifflin & Co.'s list embraces 'James Russell Lowell and his Friends,' by Edward Everett Hale, profusely illustrated; a 'Life of Edwin M. Stanton,' by George C. Gorham, in two volumes; 'Thaddeus Stevens,' by Samuel W. McCall; 'Charlotte Cushman: Her Letters and Memories of her Life,' by Emma Stebbins; 'The Life and Work of Thomas Dudley, Second Governor of Massachusetts,' by Augustine Jones; 'The End of an Era,' by John S. Wise, son of the late Gov. Henry A. Wise of Virginia; 'England and America after Independence, 1783-1892,' by Edward Smith; 'Letters of Carlyle to his Younger Sister,' edited by Charles T. Copeland; 'The Conjure Woman,' by Charles W. Chesnut; 'Under the Beech Tree,' poems by Arlo Bates; 'Hermione, and Other Poems,' by the late Edward Rowland Sill; 'The Throne-Makers'—Bismarck, Napoleon III., Kossuth, and Garibaldi—by William Roscoe Thayer; 'Through Nature to God,' by John Fiske; 'Psychology and Life,' by Hugo Münsterberg; 'The Antigone of Sophocles,' translated into English by Prof. George H. Palmer of Harvard; and 'Corn Plants,' by Frederick Le Roy Sargent.

G. P. Putnam's Sons are printing 'Two Women in the Klondike,' by Mrs. Mary E. Hitchcock, widow of the late Commander Hitchcock, U. S. N., and Miss Van Buren, a great-grandniece of President Van Buren. The illustrations will be copious.

The fifth volume (1821-1837) of McMaster's 'History of the People of the United States' is forthcoming from D. Appleton & Co., along with 'A History of American Privateers,' by Edgar S. Maclay; 'Admiral Porter,' by Prof. J. R. Soley; 'The Reminiscences of a Very Old Man (1807-1897),' by the late veteran engraver John Sartain; 'The Principles of Taxation,' by David A. Wells; 'Outlines of the Comparative Physiology and Morphology of Animals,' by Joseph Le Conte; 'Montaigne's Education of Children,' by Dr. L. R. Rector; and 'Idylls of the Sea,' by Frank T. Bullen.

Prof. Macvane's translation of Seignobos's 'Political History of Contemporary Europe, 1814-1896'; 'Elements of Finance,' by Prof. William M. Daniels of Princeton; 'Talks to Teachers,' by Prof. William James of Harvard; 'Economics,' collected papers of the late Gen. Francis A. Walker; 'Standard English Poems,' selected by Henry S. Pancoast; and a one-volume unillustrated edition of Britton's 'Flora,' are among the works soon to be issued by Henry Holt & Co.

The biography of Elizabeth of Austria is announced for publication by Harper & Bros. under the title, 'The Martyrdom of an Empress.' The author is a lady of the Austrian Court, one of the very few admitted to the intimate confidence of Elizabeth. From the same house will issue also 'An Incident, and Other Happenings,' a volume of short stories by Sarah Barnwell Elliott; 'Espiritu Santo,' a novel of operative life in Paris, by Henrietta Dana Skinner, daughter of Richard H. Dana, author of 'Two Years before the Mast'; and 'The Jacksonian Epoch,' by Charles H. Peck, being the political history of the United States from the battle of New Orleans to Tyler's accession to the Presidency.

The Clarendon Press, Oxford (New York:

Henry Frowde), has in active preparation 'A Concordance of the Proper Names in the Septuagint,' by H. A. Redpath; 'The Oxyrhynchus Logia and the Apocryphal Gospels,' by the Rev. C. Taylor; 'A Dictionary of Vernacular Syriac,' by N. J. Maclean; 'Letters of Ricardo to Trower,' edited by James Bonar and J. H. Hollander; a second series of 'Studies in Dante,' by the Rev. E. Moore; a Supplement to Bosworth's Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, by T. N. Toller; and 'Modern Land Law,' by E. Jenks.

'The Irish Washingtons, at Home and Abroad,' by George Washington, of Dublin, Ireland, and Thomas Hamilton Murray, of Boston, is announced by the Carrollton Press, Woonsocket, Mass.

The "Teachers' Professional Library," to be edited for Macmillan Co. by Prof. Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia, will soon be launched with 'The Practical Lessons of History,' by Wm. T. Harris, United States Commissioner of Education.

The tide of reprints is again rising. From Messrs. Scribner flow in three more volumes of the Gadshill Dickens, edited by Andrew Lang, viz., 'Christmas Stories,' and 'Edwin Drood' with 'Master Humphrey's Clock,' that well forgotten sequel to the 'Pickwick Papers,' and parent to 'The Old Curiosity Shop'; and a new edition of John Addington Symonds's charming 'Sketches and Studies in Italy and Greece,' in the handsome uniform reprint of his works. The same firm sends us two more volumes of Downey & Co.'s uniform edition, in very bold type, of the novels of the Brontë sisters—'The Tenant of Wildfell Hall,' by Anne Brontë, whose portrait is after a drawing by Charlotte.

Macmillan Co., on their part, renew the Dent series of pocket Temple Classics with the timely reprint of the first edition of Mrs. Browning's 'Aurora Leigh' (1856) and of Robert Browning's 'Men and Women' (1855), a curious gathering together of poems to be redistributed afterwards—some being among the most famous of his shorter ones; and the delectable North's Plutarch (1579) in two volumes. In all these cases Mr. Gollancz's sub-editors supply just the proper amount of bibliographical apparatus. Purposely restrained, also, are the not too numerous footnotes of the Eversley edition of Shakspeare, edited by Prof. C. H. Herford, and published by the above firm. The first of ten volumes, very presentable in its open typography, has appeared, and furnishes "the cultivated but not learned reader" a general introduction, and special introductions for each of the four plays beginning with "Love's Labour's Lost." The editor has profited by the labors of his predecessors, and will not be thought to have needlessly enlarged the shapes in which Shakspeare has been made accessible and intelligible to all classes.

Our notice of the admirable 'Encyclopædia of Sport' (Putnam's) appeared some weeks ago, upon its conclusion in the separate parts. The bound second volume (H-Z) has now come to hand, to mark the final completion of a very successful and creditable enterprise.

The Nestor of German novelists, Friedrich Spielhagen, has recently, in his seventieth year, published what a number of literary journals in the Fatherland regard as the strongest and best production of his prolific pen. It bears on its title the one word "Herrin." Quite naturally it is a "Kultur" novel, intended, if not to adorn a tale, at any rate to point a moral. It is the story

of an emancipated and strong-minded Jewish girl, who, having broken with the faith of her fathers, seeks to shine in the masculine rôle of a manager of a great landed estate (hence the title), but, failing in her purpose of "buying" social distinction and a titled husband, ends her career in lunacy. Spielhagen's publisher is Staackmann in Leipzig.

The Muret-Sanders German-English 'Encyklopädisches Wörterbuch' (Berlin: Langenscheidt) has now reached the word "gering." The English-German part, compiled by Prof. Muret, was completed some time ago, and published in two massive volumes of about 2,500 large quarto pages; the completion of the second part, under the editorial management of the veteran lexicographer, Prof. Daniel Sanders, is promised for the year 1900, in about equal bulk. This dictionary gives not only the customary definition, pronunciation, and similar data, but a wealth of idiomatic expressions, dialectic forms, etc. A unique system of signs and abbreviations has made possible a remarkable condensation. A smaller edition in two handy volumes is also being issued, at a cost of 7 marks each in good binding. It is unfortunate that the mass of matter has compelled the use of rather small type.

We may be familiar with the collection of Watts's hymns, or we may know in a general way of the existence of the Song-Book of Henry the Eighth, but some of us may be surprised to find that there still remains a comparatively large body of ancient Buddhist hymns which have been preserved in the Pāli, or sacred language of Gotama, in the verses in which they were chanted or sung by the monks and priests of India centuries before the Christian era. These form a part of the canonical texts of Buddhism, and they have recently been made more generally accessible in a German translation by the Vienna scholar Dr. Karl Eugen Neumann, whose renderings of Buddha's sayings and of other writings are already known among specialists. The present interesting and important work appears in Berlin under the title 'Die Lieder der Mönche und Nonnen Gotamo Buddhos' (New York: Lemcke & Buechner), and its contents make a volume of nearly four hundred pages. These so-called hymns, or, rather, selections of "stanzas (*gāthā*) of the male and female elders," comprise each a few verses, although some of them are longer. We know their traditional authors individually by name, although there is actually, no doubt, anonymous material among them, as in any hymnal to-day. The tone, the minor chord, and the characteristic notes of Buddhism are all present, and these rhapsodical songs are dominated by the influence of the powerful personality of the Sakya Sage who preached on the banks of the Ganges stream five centuries before the dawn of that day on which the morning stars sang together.

In a little brochure with the sweet-sounding title 'Der ewige Friede' (Munich: Haushalter), one of the older professors of jurisprudence at the University of Munich, Freiherr von Stengel, defends the blessings of war and large military establishments in words that will rejoice the hearts of our own expansionists. Assuming that America's desire to rule the world and dictate her laws to declining Europe will grow stronger as time goes on, "Shall the German Empire," he exclaims, "in the event of war between America and Europe, stand peacefully by and

humbly bow down before America? Surely not!"

Mr. Eben Putnam's 'Ancestral Charts' (Salem, Mass.) has reached a second edition. It is a set of blanks, capable of indefinite multiplication, to exhibit the bare facts of lineal descent for four generations, and hence a convenient epitome of genealogical acquisitions.

In the *Library Journal* for February to be remarked is Mr. Rudolph's account of the genealogical index undertaken by the Newberry Library in Chicago. The work is a key to hundreds of genealogies, town histories, anniversary celebrations, war and pension records, rosters, etc., and will, it is estimated, embrace nearly 700,000 entries by the time it is ready for the printer; and it is nearing completion. Mr. Iles also reports progress on the annotated bibliography of American history which Mr. J. N. Larned is editing with an able corps of assistants. This may contain as many as 1,800 titles.

We read in the Roman *Minerva* of February 5 that the Turin League against pornography, having to combat the indecencies figured upon match-boxes, which are among Italy's most stable exports, has gone into the business of making and selling match-boxes of its own, and that these find a ready sale.

In the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for February 1, M. F. Vié describes the striking contrast between French colonial extension for glory but without profit to the mother country, and German commercial colonization without conquest, but to the national advantage. The writer speaks more especially *en connaissance de cause* of the origin, growth, and activity of the German commercial colonies in and around the Antilles and in the Spanish-American republics on the Atlantic. In Hayti and San Domingo, in Guatemala, Venezuela, Colombia, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, San Salvador, commerce is preponderantly, and in some ports almost exclusively, in the hands of Germans, who carry, for example, four-fifths of all the coffee from Guatemala to Hamburg, the remaining fifth going mostly to England, also partly in German bottoms. In Venezuela nearly all the wholesale houses, and in Costa Rica almost all the banks, are German, and so on; the French being now and then represented by one or two firms.

Under the catchy title of "Afrikanische Galgeneskizzen," the African traveller Oscar Baumann, at present Austrian Consul at Zanzibar, has been publishing in the *Vienna Zeit* a series of sketches of German methods of colonial government that have attracted wide attention. Baumann was the chief witness in the Peters trial about two years ago, when this representative German was convicted of having taken the law into his own hands and put a number of blacks to death. Baumann declares that Peters's acts are to this day imitated and even surpassed by the officials in German East Africa, and that the hanging of natives has become almost a fashionable amusement of those in authority. The official in charge of affairs at Kilwa has a collection of ropes that have been used for this purpose, and has kept an account of these in his books under the rubric, "Entertainment of foreign guests." These hangings are generally attended by the photographic amateur as well. Baumann gives a long array of facts and figures implicating

also the former Governor, Von Wissmann. The German papers have become nervous over these charges, and declare that they cannot be ignored; and the *Berlin Post* states that the German Government has already taken steps to investigate the truth of them.

Those interested in contemporary German literature may be pleased to have their attention called to a dramatic poem, "Der Thor und der Tod," by Hugo von Hofmannsthal, which is published (with illustrations) in *Die Jugend* for February 4 (Munich), after having been brought out on the stage under the auspices of the Münchener Litterarische Gesellschaft. The poem was written in 1893, when the author was not yet twenty, and is remarkable for both contents and form. No other works of the promising young dramatist have as yet been published, but his drama "Donna Dianora" was last year given at the Freie Bühne, and another, "Die Hochzeit der Sobelde," was recently being studied at the Deutsches Theater in Berlin.

The intensive pursuit of special lines of study, made possible by the division of labor in the higher institutions of learning, brings us face to face with the strange phenomenon of a modern professor of engineering vying with Matthew Arnold and Goethe in his protest against the encroachments of mathematics. Prof. Paul von Lossow (Munich), discussing the education of engineers in *Hochschul-Nachrichten* for January, inveighs against the useless ballast of mathematical learning with which the technical Hochschulen burden their students at the expense of more important, profitable, and broadening branches of knowledge. The bare elements of the differential and integral calculus are sufficient to follow intelligently the lectures on theoretical mechanics by two of the most eminent specialists in that branch—so the writer states after carefully going over his own note-books; while "among thousands of engineers who have been surfeited with mathematics in the Hochschule scarcely one has, in after life, occasion to apply them to advantage." This question of reducing the requirements in mathematics in order to improve the general and technical education of engineers has been agitated for some years past in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins deutscher Ingenieure* and in monographs by leading professors.

A large part of the *Consular Reports* for February is taken up with notices from the principal countries of Europe in regard to the policies adopted by their respective governments to extend foreign commerce. The topic of most general interest which they treat is technical education, the general testimony seeming to be that a great improvement in manufactures and an increase in exports are due to the influence of the industrial and commercial schools. Austria has 15 state industrial schools, and "devoted to commercial interests are 12 high schools, 23 commercial high schools, and 79 schools for advanced instruction." A list of 67 subjects is given in which technical instruction may be had in London, while in Belgium there are 225 schools for training young girls in housekeeping. Among other important topics touched on is our trade with China, which is shown to be steadily increasing, especially in Chefoo, where in 1897 the value of American imports was over two million dollars, or "almost ten times greater than those specified as from Great Britain."

The Calendar of the Tokyo Imperial University for the years 1897-'98, now a portly volume of 375 pages, gives the lists of professors, students, and graduates, and the titles of the Journals, Memoirs, and Bulletins of the various faculties published since 1887. These monographs show hopefully the practical application of science to manifold local problems as well as to questions of cosmic interest. In the various colleges there are now 2,239 students. The total number of graduates is 3,045.

A memorial to a bright and stimulating mind, the late Robert Herbert Quick, of high repute as an educational writer, has been projected in the shape of a "Quick Memorial Library" in connection with that of the Teachers' Guild of Great Britain and Ireland, already begun by 900 volumes on modern pedagogy given by Mrs. Quick, together with a collection on historical pedagogy. It is hoped to raise £500, of which the interest shall permanently replenish this library. Many Americans join in the appeal. Subscriptions may be sent to Prof. Foster Watson, University College of Wales, Aberystwyth.

The friends of Pasquale Villari propose to celebrate his fortieth year of service in the Florentine Istituto di Studi Superiori, of which he is President of the faculty, by establishing a fund whose income will be distributed in prizes for historical work of preëminent merit; and an international committee has been formed to enable his admirers in other lands to participate. Little is known in this country of Villari's tireless labors for the promotion of well-ordered liberty in Italy and of culture in its widest sense, but his classical lives of Machiavelli and Savonarola have won the regard of all students of the Italian Renaissance, many of whom will doubtless be glad to aid in this testimonial to his honor. Communications on the subject may be addressed to Henry C. Lea, No. 2000 Walnut Street, Philadelphia.

—The *Atlantic Monthly* for March has an entertaining article, by John Fiske, on "Some Cranks and their Crotchets." When Mr. Fiske was assistant librarian of Harvard College, he undertook to classify under the head of "Insane Literature" books dealing with questions which their authors would describe as coming under the head of Mathematics, Physics, Political Economy, or Literature, but which the judicious would grieve to think of as illustrating anything but "the pathology of the human mind." Under the rubric of Insane Literature, therefore, Mr. Fiske put all books in the library propounding the solution of the problems of squaring the circle, of perpetual motion, of the Great Pyramid, of the hollowness of the globe, etc. Unfortunately, this valuable innovation was open to the objection that the authors of the books in question, some of whom lived in the neighborhood, would probably feel hurt, if not libelled, at finding themselves solemnly adjudged lunatics in this way by an institution of learning. Consequently, Mr. Fiske substituted for "insane" the word "eccentric," and under the head of "Eccentric Literature" all such books are now catalogued at Harvard. Mr. Fiske goes on to say that one lot of books, which he indelicately calls "The Bacon-Shakespeare stuff," intended by him to have been put in this class, but overlooked, "still remain absurdly grouped along with the books on Shakespeare written by men in

their senses." Enlarging upon his text, he gives an amusing account of the "crankery" which leads to the production of literature of this sort, and incidentally gives the reader many a useful hint. The further we read, the wider we see the horizon of the insane in print expanding, and gradually perceive that there exists a vast audience of dupes for whom books are regularly written by persons of diseased minds, and who (but for the fact that there is no pecuniary imposition) occupy towards the writers in question the relation which stockholders do to the projectors of Keely motors, or to inventors of processes for extracting gold from seawater. The second instalment of Dr. William James's "Talks to Teachers in Psychology" contains a brief theory of education. He traces "a certain disparagement of emulation as a laudable spring of action in the schoolroom" to Rousseau, who, in "Émile," branded rivalry between one pupil and another as too base a passion to play a part in an ideal education; and he thinks that the depth and primitiveness of the sense of ownership, as displayed by the young of the human animal, "would seem to discredit psychologically all radical forms of communistic utopia in advance." Mrs. Howe's "Reminiscences" contain some good anecdotes illustrating Charles Sumner's want of humor. She might have added that, as in most such cases, the deficiency was so little suspected by Mr. Sumner himself that he would, on an important occasion, not only venture on a joke, but also subsequently be at considerable pains to explain it. An instance well known and often told among his friends was of a memorable pun on the word "buffalo"—explained by the punster as being founded on the double signification of the word, as designating the bison of the West and the city of the same name in the State of New York.

—Harper's contains a paper of a somewhat novel sort—an historical essay by a North American Indian; Simon Pokagon, chief of the Pokagon band of Pottawatomie Indians, being the author. He gives an account of "The Massacre of Fort Dearborn" at Chicago, as gathered from the traditions of the Indian tribes engaged in the massacre and from the published accounts, and what he has to say is well worth reading. He quotes his father as having always declared to the day of his death that if there had never been fire-water, there never would have been a Fort Dearborn massacre. He gives at length a speech of Tecumseh's, handed down by tradition, as good a specimen of oratory as any which we used to read in the pages of early white chroniclers. The old account-books of the American Fur Company, kept for inspection as relics, show, he says, how the glorious "winning of the West" was greatly effected by making the aboriginal proprietor of the property to be won drunk, and he adds in his quaint way that while examining them the Great Spirit whispered in his ear, "Pokagon, you can rest assured, if these books are required in evidence against the white man in the Supreme Court of the world beyond, no expert will be called for to read them." Was there a time when the good Indian, the noble savage, whom we now regard as an invention of romancers, was a reality? The sceptic should compare such a paper as this with the novels of Cooper, and he will not only find, to his surprise, that there was a basis of fact for the creations of the author of

the 'Last of the Mohicans,' but will be left with much doubt in his mind as to whether history, as reflected in Indian minds and hearts, would show as many examples of white generosity and honor in dealings with Indians as we have preserved in our own libraries of these virtues as shown by Indians. Tecumseh's picture of the ordinary white man, "cunning, crafty, cruel, without honor, without natural affection"—is almost precisely our picture of the ordinary bad Indian. Can it be that in the sight of the Great Spirit pugnacity, cruelty, and greed are no more creditable in one race than in another?

—Scribner's contains an instalment of Mr. G. F. Hoar's Political Reminiscences. It seems that his account of the national conventions in which he had taken part (in the February number) was the first chapter of these. His first political service, he tells us, consisted in folding and directing circulars sent out in 1848 by the anti-slavery Whigs who bolted the regular nomination of Taylor, and thus set on foot the division which ended in the destruction of the Whig and the creation of the Republican party. It is certainly curious and interesting for those who like to trace the continuity of public careers, to see Mr. Hoar, in his old age, again a bolter on principle from the councils of the party which in his youth he helped, by bolting, to found. He publishes for the first time a letter written by Webster to his brother, the late E. R. Hoar, giving his reasons for refusing to join in the secession. Four years later, Mr. Webster was a discredited man, while the Free-Soilers, casting in Massachusetts in the election of 1848 only 37,000 votes, had among their number all the men who subsequently became dominant in the State. The rise of Sumner, Adams, Andrew, the two Hoars, and Wilson, to mention only half-a-dozen, was brought about by the disintegration of the party to which they belonged in their earlier years. The flood of war literature shows signs of ebbing. This department of the magazines has been nearly worked out, and the point reached at which it is difficult to avoid repetition. Even the interest of Mr. Roosevelt's "Rough Riders" suffers from the fact that it has been told by everybody else before. Fond as we are of the pomp and noise and danger of war, there is one thing of which the magazine reader, even the most patriotic, is fonder, and that is novelty. He must have new subjects, and refuses to be thrilled with one emotion for more than a certain length of time.

—The Century has added to its "Heroes of Peace" series an article on "Heroes of the Railway Service," illustrated by Jay Hambridge. It is written by Charles De Lano Hine, a graduate of West Point, who, after serving as an officer for four years, voluntarily resigned his commission in the army to become a freight brakeman. After some railway service as a brakeman and a yardmaster, he reentered the military service as Major in the First District of Columbia Volunteer Infantry. He points out that railroad organization is semi-military in character, and that in some respects railway service is the more dangerous of the two; the danger, however, being a matter of such every-day routine that it attracts little attention:

"A soldier fights his battle, and may not be again under fire for a week, a month, or a year. While actually engaged, his is a maximum of danger. The railroad man is usually

in much less danger than the fighting soldier. What the railroader lacks in intensity of interest he makes up in quantity. He is under fire, so to speak, every working day or night of his life. The washouts of spring, the blinding dust of summer, the treacherous fogs of autumn, and the icy car tops of winter, all teach him to be careful of his hold in this world, lest he slip suddenly into the next. As the battle is the true test of the officer and the soldier, so is the wreck the measure of the coolness or pluck of the official and the employee."

The "casualties" in the latter class every year in this country he puts at 20,000. All this without distinction, glory, pomp, or show, and hitherto without magazines to make it known. This "Heroes of Peace" series is the first attempt—so far as we know—to reduce to their true proportions the ridiculous pretensions of military life to a monopoly of courage, nerve, and endurance. We have read with interest Mr. James Bryce's advice to us on the management of our new colonies in his article called "British Experience in the Government of Colonies," but we are bound to say that the most important statement in it is the following: "Were I a citizen of the United States, I should be among those who are opposing their annexation." The difficulty with his advice that we imitate the English colonial system (by establishing a sort of benevolent despotism which shall keep a "firm hand" on "white adventurers") is, that it is addressed to a government in the hands of a party which is annexing for the benefit of white adventurers, and itself consists of white adventurers. It is for the very reason that white adventurers may thrive, that the White Adventurer's Great Father must turn a deaf ear to such advice.

—By the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, when we were still living under the Articles of Confederation, which established a Congress consisting of but one branch, it was provided that as soon as there should be a certain number of inhabitants in the district northwest of the Ohio River, they should be allowed to have a General Assembly, consisting of a Council and a House, and that this body should have the authority "to elect a Delegate to Congress, who shall have a seat in Congress, with a right of debating, but not of voting, during this temporary government." After the adoption of the Constitution and the organization under it of the new government, which provided, among other things, for a national legislature composed of two houses, the general Government obtained by a deed of cession the territory south of the Ohio River, and in 1790 an act of Congress was passed, which extended to the inhabitants of that region all the benefits, privileges, and advantages previously granted those of the Northwest Territory, and established there a similar government. This proved to be an inadvertent and embarrassing piece of legislation when, in 1794, James White laid before the Speaker of the House of Representatives the credentials of his appointment as a Representative in Congress of the Territory south of the River Ohio. Representative in Congress? In which branch of Congress should he take a seat? Some members thought it much more proper that he should go into the Senate. He was elected in a manner similar to that of Senators, and Senators more resembled Delegates than did Representatives of the people. Others held that he had a right to speak in either branch

when the affairs of the Southwestern Territory were under discussion.

—Mr. Boudinot of New Jersey, who had been a member of the Continental Congress, was very positive that, as the old law could not be fully executed, Mr. White ought to go where members elected by Legislatures went—to the Senate; but he thought an act of Congress should be passed in reference to the matter. Strict constructionists contended that Delegates from Territories were unknown to the Constitution, and for that reason Mr. White could not be admitted to either branch. The liberals maintained, on the other hand, that the Representatives had a right to admit any one whatever to a seat in the House, for the mere purpose of participating in the debates. The moderate men argued that nothing in the new Constitution excluded these Delegates; that the privilege of representation had been solemnly conferred upon the very people who had elected Mr. White; that Sevier had represented them in the old Congress when they belonged to Carolina, and that they had separated into a new State under the promise of this privilege. It was now too late, they added, to say that laws under which action had been taken were incapable of execution. This view prevailed, and Mr. White was admitted, but the House, by a vote of 42 to 32, held that he should not take the oath of a member of Congress.

—Some years ago the Gresham Life Assurance Company entered upon an investigation of the risks incident to professional military and naval lives, and the results are very pertinent to the "colonial policy" of the United States. Two great divisions of the subject may be made, one giving the conditions in peace and another in war; but there are other influences of moment. The rate of death at the home-stations in peace may be taken as the normal mortality, and this was found to be about 5 per 1,000 for commissioned officers, and 7 or 8 per 1,000 for non-commissioned officers and men—a rate even lower than that for the male population of the United Kingdom. This applies, however, only in early manhood, for ages under 35; beyond that point the civilian has the advantage. At foreign stations in time of peace the climate risk must be considered, and while the different services give different results, the average is 15 per 1,000, or double the normal rate. The same figure expresses the mortality rate for a small war; so it is safe to assert that, under the best of management, the occupation of a reasonably healthy possession costs in life as much as a war of moderate proportions. The application of this to the army of the United States will be evident. The tropics are not healthy regions naturally, and our men are not accustomed to foreign service. An occupation may, and most likely will, cost in life each year as much as a war of fair proportions.

ROPES'S CIVIL WAR.

The Story of the Civil War: A Concise Account of the War in the United States of America between 1861 and 1865. By John Codman Ropes, LL.D. With Maps and Plans. Part II., The Campaigns of 1862. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 8vo, pp. xii, 475.

In his second volume Mr. Ropes has adhered to the method of giving only selected campaigns and battles as illustrating the general progress of the war, the qualities of

the commanding generals, and the military administration of the Government. He has greatly enlarged the fulness of his references to the Official Records of the armies, so that it is easy to trace his authorities for the assertions of fact in his descriptions of the events he narrates. In this he cannot be too highly commended. There is nothing more wearisome than the attempt to run down the sources of an historical statement, when no reference is given, in so vast a thesaurus as even the first series of the Records. The Publishing Board has done all in its power to help us by system in the compilation, by copious indexes, and by full tables of contents in each volume of all preceding volumes, by grouping everything relating to one campaign in the several parts of one volume, separating reports from correspondence and National matter from the Confederate, by giving chronological tables of current related events and even calendars of the year to determine dates when days of the week are mentioned—for all which they will get thanks from generations of investigators yet unborn; but when all this is done, it requires no little patience to find a quotation without citation of volume or page. In proportion to this labor, the author puts us under obligation who tells us where to find the material he uses, so fully and carefully as Mr. Ropes has done in this book. It is also a guarantee of good faith, and is a salutary check upon the author himself, making him careful in his statements. The evolution of a true history is thus greatly accelerated; for the weighing of such mountains of evidence is not to be done in a day, and dubious or disputed points will long remain after the most conscientious efforts to reach solid verity.

In the progress towards an agreed narrative of the facts in the campaigns and battles with which Mr. Ropes deals, therefore, he has done good work which, it is safe to say, will have permanent recognition. He is also very pronounced and free in his judgments of men and of their conduct and capacity, but here it will naturally happen that he will find his readers exercising their own judgment and not infrequently differing from him. This is all the more likely because it is rarely the case that the grounds of such personal judgments are or can be fully stated, and the particular events in regard to which they are applied do not always seem to imply necessarily the conclusions which are stated. The capacity and character of the successive commanders of the Army of the Potomac have been so much the subject of heated partisan discussion that, in trying to gauge the author's treatment of men, it will be well to go to some other theatre of operations. Let us take the Middle West, and the relations of Lincoln, Stanton, Halleck, Buell, and Rosecrans.

Toward the close of the summer and in the early autumn of 1862, a Confederate army in two columns, one under Bragg, the other under Kirby Smith, had, by manoeuvre, forced back the national army under Buell from northern Alabama, across Tennessee and Kentucky to the Ohio River. Considerably reinforced, Buell again advanced, fought an indecisive battle at Perryville, Ky., and followed the retiring enemy southeast to Mt. Vernon and London on the upper waters of the Cumberland River. There the pursuit ended, and Buell turned the march of his columns toward Nashville, though his orders from Washington were to press the

pursuit of the enemy and occupy East Tennessee. It may be a hard rule of war that a general is judged by results, but it is a recognized one. When A. S. Johnson lost Fort Donelson and retreated to Corinth, Miss., he said to Mr. Davis that he could not complain if the rule were applied to him. Lee said the same after Gettysburg. Buell himself, on October 16, recognized it, in the letter in which he declared his purpose to change his course to Nashville.

The right of Halleck, as general-in-chief, and of the Government, to order the continued advance is too plain for argument. Such order removed the responsibility for the plan from Buell's shoulders and left him only that of vigorous execution. It was the subordinate's privilege to ask to be relieved if he thought he must fail in the execution, but no wrong was done him in giving the order. Halleck did not confine the pursuit to the route the enemy had travelled and wasted. He indicated at least two others as being eligible, including one directly across Tennessee to Chattanooga, which place, as he pointed out, was as near as Nashville, and led through a region abundantly able to support an army, which the Confederates even after another year of war looked to as one in which a large army could live. To occupy Chattanooga and East Tennessee while the country roads were good and the autumn weather pleasant, then to repair the Chattanooga and Nashville Railroad and make firm the advance so gained, was an intelligent and reasonable plan, shown to be feasible by subsequent operations in the same region. It was under such circumstances that Buell was relieved and Rosecrans appointed, after Mr. Lincoln had once revoked Secretary Stanton's order to the same effect and Buell had persisted in refusing to follow the directions sent him by the general-in-chief. In the actual condition and situation of the army under Bragg, there is good reason to think Halleck's plan would have succeeded, and a new base for further movements might have been established at Chattanooga a year before it was actually done.

In these circumstances, how does Mr. Ropes treat the President and his advisers? Of Halleck he had earlier said that he had but slender intellectual capacity, and an unmilitary cast of mind (p. 235), and repeats that he had an "inability to grasp a military problem" (p. 385). In the present juncture, Halleck is said to be only the mouthpiece of the President's determination, and is absolved in this way from the chief responsibility, while Lincoln and the Secretary of War are denied whatever support they might get from the concurrence of Halleck's opinion. It is generally agreed that Halleck failed as a field commander of an army; but it is also generally admitted that few, if any, were his equals in knowledge of military theory and history. His books on the Art of War and International Law, as well as his translation of Jomini's Napoleon, have always stood well, and have been regarded as sufficient proof of intellectual capacity and ability to grasp a military problem. Still more are these shown by his voluminous correspondence during his service as general-in-chief, when candidly analyzed. That he blundered, as everybody else blundered, is of course true; but we do not believe that final historical judgment will deny to him knowledge or

brain power. His correspondence with Buell in this campaign was by no means a mere iteration of the Government's wishes. He expressed his own opinion vigorously, that it was possible to drive the enemy from East Tennessee and keep him out. "If we cannot do it now, we need never hope for it," he said (O. R., xvi., pt. 2, pp. 623, 626).

Thus having isolated the President and his Secretary from the military assistance of the general-in-chief, our author, after asserting that "no one capable of forming a judgment on the military questions involved in it can hesitate an instant in arriving at the conclusion that General Buell was in the right," turns upon Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Stanton with—"The President and Secretary were neither willing nor competent to discuss the question on purely military grounds." It cannot be necessary to defend Mr. Lincoln from the charge of being unwilling to seek, with intense earnestness, in every direction for light on the problem of making his country victorious. When, the year before, protest was made to him against his patient endurance of McClellan's exasperating disrespect, and he replied, "I will hold his horse if he will only conquer this rebellion," he spoke in the spirit of self-abnegating devotion which animated him till the day of his assassination. As to his capacity to understand and discuss military reasoning, after two years of life in the focus of military responsibility, with Scott, McClellan, McDowell, Meigs, Hitchcock, and Halleck around him in both formal and informal presentation of their views in unrestrained discussion, with his keen shrewdness sifting their arguments, and with his peculiar power of generalizing principles from complicated facts, we should rather ask, Who could understand and who discuss, if not he? But, besides this probable evidence from his well-known powers, there are his letters in the Records, giving his actual discussion of real and present military problems on purely military grounds, and they demonstrate his competency to do it ably and thoroughly, as we have had occasion to show in these columns (within three months), and as Mr. Ropes has admitted in this book (p. 439, note).

Without going into a detailed criticism of Buell's campaign, it is enough to say that, though his cautious defensive strategy was criticised at Washington, Mr. Lincoln had revoked the order relieving him on this account, and reissued it only when the General persisted in retiring on Nashville instead of continuing to follow the enemy by any route. The real question was between the continuance of such cautious defensive and a bolder aggressive. It would be an anachronism, to-day, to argue in favor of bold, continuous initiative in war. That question has been decided affirmatively, if anything can be settled. Mr. Lincoln has the world with him. That the good weather of the autumn was rapidly passing, was only another good military reason for "pushing things." But there were political reasons for the same course, so strong that they seem to show the radical incompleteness of a discussion of the campaign which ignores them.

The public discontent with the progress of the war was so great that it showed itself in the elections of this same autumn by the loss of the control of the House of Representatives by the Administration. The Congressional Committee on the Conduct of the War brought the whole weight of the most

vigorous element of those in favor of the war to bear upon the Administration, insisting upon a more aggressive military policy. Governor Morton of Indiana, with the coöperation of the Governors of Ohio and Illinois, protested against the conduct of the campaign in Tennessee and Kentucky. Their opinions and those of the whole Northwest were fairly expressed in a letter of Morton to the President on October 7, in which he said:

"Another three months like the last six, and we are lost—lost. We cannot afford to experiment a single day longer with men who have failed continuously for a whole year, who, with the best-appointed armies, have done nothing, have thrown away the greatest advantages, evacuated whole States, and retreated hundreds of miles before an inferior enemy. To try them longer, trusting that they may yet do something, would, it seems to me, be imperilling the life of the nation."

On the 21st he said: "In the Northwest, distrust and despair are seizing upon the hearts of the people." East Tennessee was a loyal district, represented in Congress by Horace Maynard, represented in our army by regiments of brave men whose families at home were in the enemy's power. A loud appeal went up to the President not to allow the winter to come without bringing that loyal region within the Union lines. The dangers of foreign complications, by reason of the efforts making to secure a recognition of the Confederacy by England and France, were so great a peril that the Government and all its friends regarded it as an imperative reason for extraordinary and unrelenting energy in aggressive warfare, that we might recover at least all we had lost during the summer, before the British Parliament should meet in January. Unless war is made for some other reason than to subserve the statesmanship of the country, such considerations ought to be imperative in favor of extraordinary exertions, ought to justify exceptional privations, and forbid the easy-going deliberateness which is not content with an army superior in numbers, in equipment, and in supply, but demands exemption from risk of short rations, of interrupted communications, of forced marches. In such circumstances such demands spell nothing but "Give it up."

It was in such circumstances that Rosecrans was chosen to succeed Buell because he was thought to have the energy to make such aggressive, indefatigable war. He was told that this was expected of him when the appointment was sent to him, and that delays could not be tolerated. He had his option to take the command on those terms or to decline it; and he took it. As Halleck afterwards told him, they at Washington believed that Buell would succeed at some time, if not hurried; but inexorable events were hurrying. And yet, when Halleck's urgency was reiterated through six weeks and no visible progress was made—a period as long as the whole Austro-Prussian war of 1866—when the autumn was gone and December was begun, when the conditions on which the appointment was made were all broken, when the grief and apprehension of the patriot in the executive chair found voice in warning that another change might have to be made, Mr. Ropes sees nothing in it all but an improper threat of removal, and says that Rosecrans deserved the thanks of his profession for resenting it! He even justifies Rosecrans in delaying three weeks longer. Meanwhile Bragg had gone out of Kentucky at its southeast corner by way of Cum-

berland Gap, had traversed the whole length of East Tennessee some two hundred miles to Chattanooga, which was much nearer our army than the enemy at the time the pursuit was abandoned, and had come back northwest from Chattanooga a hundred and twenty miles to Murfreesboro, thirty miles from Nashville. Can we now be asked to believe that praise for Rosecrans and contempt for Lincoln and his advisers is the final word of history? Can anybody wonder that Mr. Lincoln said that if his generals did not want to use the armies, he wished they would lend them to somebody who could? For the victory at Murfreesboro, incomplete as it was, he was generous in praise, and made it the reason for condoning the waste of most of the next summer.

In the treatment of the question of numbers of opposing armies, Mr. Ropes seeks to make the official statistical returns to the Adjutant-General's Office the basis of his computations, and in this he is unquestionably right, though he does not always adhere to it with entire consistency. He has adopted a rule of deducting 20 per cent. from the returns of the "present for duty," for "men on extra duty, etc." This is a manifest error. In the original returns are separate columns for officers and men present sick, in arrest, and on extra duty, but in neither the National nor the Confederate returns is this triple group included in the numbers reported "present for duty." In the *Nation*, No. 1440 (p. 86), was given an analysis and comparison of the forms of return, and the Confederate method of reporting "effectives" was shown. In Nos. 1538 (p. 462) and 1543 (p. 71) the relative reliability of statements of numbers made by officers in other forms than the regular returns was examined. Without discussing the subject again, it still seems that the reasons for adhering to the "returns," when they exist, as the supreme authority in military statistics, are conclusive, and we cannot go with Mr. Ropes when he "adopts substantially the numbers given in the Confederate (narrative) reports" written long after such a battle as Antietam, when they are inconsistent with the statistical returns made in regular course of duty.

To illustrate: Lee's army, with which he began the campaign against Pope at the end of July, was 82,632 "present for duty," as we learn from the statistical returns. By the same means we learn that there remained to him after the battle of Antietam in September, close to 44,500, as Mr. Ropes states it (p. 332). This leaves more than 38,000 as the total losses of the Confederates in the two months' campaigning—a conclusion from which there is no escape. But, adding to the numbers remaining in September the casualties in the battles of South Mountain and Antietam, Mr. Ropes argues that, according to the returns, Lee had on the morning of the battle last named 58,000 men. As a compromise with other general statements in reports, he reduces this below 40,000 (p. 377). Yet he has given his estimate of the force with which Lee crossed the Potomac at about 55,000 (p. 337), which would make the Confederate losses for Harper's Ferry and South Mountain 15,000; but nobody could for a moment accept this. On the other hand, if Lee crossed the Potomac with no more than 45,000, his losses in the campaign against Pope were nearly 38,000. Mr. Ropes very clearly declares the conflicting data to be irreconcilable, and offers his estimates as only approximate.

It is utterly useless to try to reconcile the claims of commanders, in general statements, with their official returns, or to compromise between them. Such statements only show the extent to which errors of memory or careless assertion can go. We shall have taken a long step towards historical truth, in this respect, when all investigators shall have learned the simple fact that no general officer in an army has any means of knowing the numerical strength of that army except the statistical returns consolidated as they come up through companies, regiments, brigades, divisions, corps, brought together at the army headquarters, and transmitted to the seat of government. This is not to be thought of as one of the means of knowledge; it is literally and exactly the only means. The army is not counted in any other way, by anybody whosoever. What is not got from these returns is not got at all. What conflicts with them is thereby convicted of being false. On the return itself are columns for "Alterations since last report," and the series is either continuously self-proving, or the return is annotated by explanations of any apparent discrepancy. No intelligent officer could ever pretend that he had any knowledge on the subject except what is obtained either directly or indirectly from these returns. If one of a series is lost, we must, of course, supply its information by such evidence of what the lost return contained as we can get; but it must accord with the others of the series and be consistent with that which precedes and that which follows. Reports of statistics by medical officers, by provost-marshals, etc., are subordinate parts of the same system. In the published Official Records are only abstracts of the full returns, but in case of doubt the originals are accessible and the accuracy of the abstract may be tested. The historical importance of such a criterion of truth is, we hope, a sufficient justification of calling attention to the actual system until its authority shall be fully recognized.

PROBLEMS OF NORTH AMERICAN ARCHAEOLOGY.

Introduction to the Study of North American Archaeology. By Prof. Cyrus Thomas. Cincinnati: The Robert Clarke Co. 1898. 8vo, pp. 391. Illustrated.

In dealing with this volume, and the same may be said of any other work upon the subject, it is well to remember that but few of the more abstruse problems connected with the prehistoric remains of America can be said to be definitively settled. We have, it is true, measured the length, breadth, and height of many of the mounds and raked over their contents, just as we have explored the ruined cities of Mexico and Central America, and compared their architecture with that of less favored regions; and it is safe to say that, from these and other indications, we have gained a reasonably correct idea of the mode of life of the people who built these mounds and lived in these cities, so far as it is revealed to us by a study of their arts and industries. At all events, the conclusions drawn from these sources have an actual basis of fact, and to this extent are believed to be indisputable. But when we go further and ask who were the builders of these mounds and cities, or, assuming that they were a different people or a people in a different stage of civilization from the former occupants of these

several regions, inquire where they came from, and by what route they reached the localities where these remains are found, we are at once upon debatable ground.

Thus, for example, if called on to account for the presence of man on this continent, we may, without doing discredit to our intelligence, answer, with Powell, that he was here before he acquired articulate speech, and that "there is no valid reason why the Eastern World may not have been peopled from the Western"; or admitting his foreign origin, we may bring him over from either Europe or Asia, and land him at different times and at different places, on the same or opposite shores of either North or South America. Indeed, there are those among us who do not hesitate to resurrect submerged continents whenever it is necessary to smooth his pathway. So, too, in regard to his development. It may have been indigenous, or it may have been colored by Asiatic influences. Both opinions are held, and as there does not appear to be any immediate prospect of deciding the matter either one way or the other, it is, perhaps, just as well not to waste any time in discussing what for the present, at least, is a question of probabilities.

Such, in fact, seems to be our author's opinion, for although he believes (pp. 369-378) that man originally arrived in America by way of the extreme Northwest Pacific Coast, and (p. 379) that there may have been "prehistoric contact on the western coast of Mexico with people from the Pacific Islands or Southeastern Asia," yet he is so far from insisting upon these points that he leaves us free to accept any theory that will help us to a solution of these questions. In the same spirit, he dismisses the problem of palæolithic man in America (p. 5) as not proven; and, contrary to his usual fairness, he disposes of the Calaveras skull and the implements found in the auriferous gravels of California by a resort to the fallacy of "begging the question." In other words, he tells us (pp. 190 *et seq.*) that these remains could not have been of the same age as the geological stratum in which they are found, for the reason that, being neolithic, they indicate a higher phase of development than was in existence when that stratum was laid down; this being precisely the point at issue.

With these problems out of the way, and bearing in mind the necessarily conjectural character of much of the evidence, we are now ready to take up the story as told by our author, though it seems advisable to reverse his line of investigation, and begin, instead of end, with our prehistoric American at the time he made his home in "the inhospitable region that lies between the western shore of Hudson's Bay and the Rocky Mountains." From this point as a centre, population is said to have flowed southward in two streams; "parted by the great treeless plains stretching from the Saskatchewan to the Rio Grande, one moved south along the mountain skirt, passed to the Pacific side," and, still pushing on, finally reached Mexico and Central America; while "the other crossed to the Atlantic side," and, circling around the lakes, took possession of the Mississippi valley and the Eastern and Southern seaboard. In the course of this long and wearisome movement, "requiring possibly thousands of years," these people split into different stocks and tribes, "if, indeed, they had not

been differentiated before reaching the continent," though it is said (p. 8), and, as we believe, rightfully, that "they belonged apparently to the same race, its members being popularly known as . . . American Indians."

In coming to this conclusion, our author summons to his aid language, tradition, and other factors in the problem, his main dependence, however, being upon the evidence furnished by the monuments and other remains that are found scattered over the country. These are carefully studied, and as a result of the comparison instituted between them and the works of the Indians, they are attributed (pp. 22, 138, 229, 240, etc.) to the people found inhabiting these sections at the incoming of the whites, or to their ancestors—in other words, to these same Indians. To this statement we, certainly, do not object: neither have we any fault to find with the separation of these remains into three (or, omitting the Arctic, into two) great divisions which Prof. Thomas styles the Pacific and the Atlantic. Such a classification is not only convenient but it is real, for it is based upon the dissimilarity that exists in the remains found in the two sections, and, what is more to the point, it marches, geographically speaking and in a general way, with the linguistic groups into which Brinton divides the Indians. Whether these differences are of such a character as to mark them as the product of different ethnic groups, is a matter of some doubt, though it is admitted that they were due to different influences, or, as Bandelier expresses it, to the exigencies of another climate and of varying natural resources. Be this as it may, it is not of much moment in the present investigation, since it is not so much with the origin of these different kinds of remains that we are concerned as it is with their existence and distribution. These, so it is thought, furnish clues to the movements of population in prehistoric times, and it is by following these clues to their sources that our author traces the Indian back to his original home in the broad stretch of country that extends from Hudson's Bay to the Rocky Mountains. Accordingly, it is from this region that the primeval American is started on his march southward, bearing along the seeds of that civilization which culminated in Mexico and Central America on the west, and in the mound centres of the Mississippi Valley on the east.

This, in brief, is a summary of our author's theory, and, in the present state of our knowledge, there is no reason why we should not accept it, except in so far as it relates to what are termed "the prehistoric movements of population." These are found to depend, so uniformly, upon conjecture that, taken in connection with what is known of the wanderings of our tribes in recent times, they may be relegated to the realm of uncertainties. Indeed, all mention of them might have been omitted without lessening our knowledge of Indian life and civilization. This fact our author seems to recognize, for although he devotes to the discussion some forty pages, in which the terms "possible" and "probable" occur with exasperating frequency, yet, in the end, he leaves us free to accept, as an alternative, the theory that America was peopled from Europe, and that the "spread of population was from the Atlantic border."

For the remainder of the volume, and es-

pecially for the description of the various remains, as well as for the account of the arts and industries, etc., of the Indians, we have only words of commendation. And yet, such is the uncertainty that attends an investigation into prehistoric life, and so difficult is it to gauge the full force of acknowledged facts, that, not unfrequently, we find ourselves at odds with our author. Take, for instance, the statement (p. 248) that "the form of government among the Aztecs was a well-regulated monarchy; . . . the title under certain conditions passing from father to son," and how can we reconcile it with Bandler's carefully studied conclusion "that there was neither monarch, autocrat, nor despot in Mexico; that merit alone on the battlefield could promote to the rank of war chief (or, as he was sometimes called, emperor); that no dignity was transmissible by inheritance, and in fine, that Mexico was a barbarous but free military democracy"? Or again, what are we to think of the "advanced culture" (pp. 8, 240) of the Mexicans when we are told by Brinton ('American Race,' p. 44) that, "leaving out of consideration the objective art of architecture and one or two inventions, the Aztecs of Mexico and the Algonquins of the eastern United States were not far apart"? So, too, in regard to our own Indians, the occasions for a difference of opinion are somewhat frequent. We do not, for instance, believe that the use of masks on the Atlantic side of the continent (p. 182) was comparatively rare, when both Adair and Lafitau—one in the north and the other in the south—tell us that, made of gourds, bark, or other material, they were worn by the Indians in some of their solemn ceremonies; and, finally, we are by no means of the opinion (p. 159) that the Shawnees were a different people from the Mascoutens, or, as they are sometimes called, the *Nation du Feu*, when the Jesuit Relations make it plain that these were different names for the same tribe. But it is unnecessary to pursue this subject further. Enough has been given to show the character of the statements to which objection may be rightfully made; and as they are of secondary importance, and might be controverted or omitted altogether without detriment to the main contention, further comment would savor of hypercriticism.

In conclusion, we may be permitted to say that, good as this work is, we prefer Thomas when he deals with tangible facts, as he does in his exhaustive account of the Mounds of the Mississippi Valley, rather than when he goes wool-gathering in fields where, according to his own admission (p. 148), success is impossible.

The Establishment of Spanish Rule in America; An Introduction to the History and Politics of Spanish America. By Bernard Moses, Ph.D., Professor in the University of California. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1898.

The pathetic ending of the first great colonial empire of modern times naturally arouses a new interest in the process of its establishment. For us, too, who are shouldering with light hearts the burden that was crushing Spain, some knowledge of the foundations of that empire, on the ruins of which we must build, would seem to be indispensable. This need is admirably met by Prof. Moses in this study of the beginnings of Spanish America. His qualifications for the work are exceptional. His special studies

in comparative constitutional law, his long residence in California, and his sojourns in Mexico and Spain, have given him a first-hand familiarity with the Spanish stock and Spanish institutions which invests his discussion with a clearness and a certain insight and sympathy that are beyond the reach of the mere student of documents.

After a brief review of Spanish history and of the general aspects of the colonial policy of the Spanish kings, including a description of the Council of the Indies, Prof. Moses gives a very lucid and detailed account of the Casa de Contratacion, based on Captain John Stevens's 'Spanish Rule of Trade to the West Indies.' Owing to the rarity and high price of both this work and its original, the 'Norte de la Contratacion de las Indias Occidentales' of Veltia Linage, this chapter supplies information as to the colonial trade hitherto not easily accessible away from the large libraries. The organization of the administration of the colonies is illustrated by a concrete study of the Viceroy and the Audiencia in Mexico. Later in the book the ecclesiastical establishment in Mexico is examined to show the relation of the Church to the King. It is characteristic of Prof. Moses's practical aims and his soundness of method that these great institutions should be studied historically as they existed in Mexico, that part of the Spanish empire which is of most interest to us and with which he is familiar by travel. Five chapters are devoted to South America, one of which deals with the Jesuit missions in Paraguay. The volume is brought to a conclusion with a discussion of Spain's economic policy and a comparison of her American colonies with those of England.

As a whole this work is admirably adapted not only to provide the thoughtful reading public with a useful body of knowledge in regard to the origin of the institutions of our Spanish-American neighbors, but also to aid teachers and students in extending the scope of courses in American history. The chief defect which we notice can easily be remedied in a second edition. An historical work in a neglected or little-known field should be furnished with a brief annotated bibliography, comprising the most important original sources and the most serviceable secondary authorities. This is especially necessary in the case of Spanish history, owing to the lack of systematic bibliographies of Spanish publications. In the present instance the absence of such a list of authorities is the more keenly felt from the rather careless method of citation employed by the author. No clue is given to the date or place of publication of the Spanish works which are referred to. Then there are references like these: "Robertson, New York, 1839, I. 384, 523," and "Watson, I. 73, 74." Is the first reference to William Robertson's 'Charles V.' or to his 'History of America,' or to J. P. Robertson's 'Letters on Paraguay'? Is the second a reference to Robert Watson's 'Philip II.' or to Robert Grant Watson's 'Spanish and Portuguese South America during the Colonial Period'? Again, the student interested in the economic aspects of the Spanish colonial policy should have his attention called to Roscher's masterly discussion in his 'Kolonien und Kolonialgeschichte,' and to the equally important chapters which Leroy-Beaulieu has devoted to the subject in his 'Colonisation chez les Peuples Modernes.'

The commercial policy of Spain towards her

colonies must be regarded as a monumental example of misdirected regulation and unutilized opportunity. That the Spaniards erred more profoundly and adhered to their error more persistently than the other colonial Powers, is to be accounted for partly by the conservative and reactionary position which Spain occupied in the great European conflicts of the sixteenth century, and partly by the fact that the Castilians were not a mercantile or an industrial people. The expulsion of the Jews had deprived the country of that portion of the population which had business aptitude and insight; and later, when progressive economists analyzed the situation and pointed out the remedy, the restrictions on printing prevented their work from having the influence that it would have exerted in a freer country. Notwithstanding their uncommercial character, the Spaniards were greedy of wealth. The result was a policy singularly narrow and oppressive, and wholly subservient to the apparent immediate interests of the mother country.

Prof. Moses's final chapter, comparing Spanish and English colonies, is a very dispassionate and lucid review of contrasted ideals and divergent practice. The balance from every point of view is not on the side of the English, although the practical results in our eyes clearly show that freedom of migration, laxness of control, and the encouragement of individual enterprise, rather than paternal oversight and restriction, are the secrets of colonial growth. Many worthless Spaniards did get to America, but the colonies were never made the dumping-ground of the social wastage as were some of the English settlements. The Spanish ideals were in some respects higher than the English, but less well adapted for promoting a progressive and vigorous civilization. A progressive civilization, however, was the last thing that Spain wanted. Therefore, in passing in review the colonial policy of Spain, we must keep in mind that the ideal aimed at was one with which we have no natural sympathy.

Really to get at the heart of the matter, the Spanish colonial policy should also be compared with the policy of England towards her Oriental dependencies. Spanish colonial America partakes quite as much of the nature of British India as of the nature of English America. When England had a problem somewhat similar to that of Spain, her policy developed striking similarities. Where England has to rule a large native population, we find as little self-government as in New Spain, and that of the same kind, in minor municipal affairs. The English Council of India might have been copied from the Council of the Indies. The legislation of British India is as despotic as that of Spanish America. There is, in short, as marked a similarity in governmental machinery as there is a contrast in quality of administration and in commercial policy. The English give good government to India, the Spanish Kings gave bad government to America. The secret is not so much to be found in the machinery of administration as in the ideals and character of the men who conduct it. If a political spoils system should get hold of India, her history would repeat that of the Philippines. If an American spoils system is introduced into our new islands, their future will be but a repetition of their past. If a democracy is to administer successfully the government of alien dependencies, it must adopt a self-denying ordinance as regards the spoils of its political victories.

"*The Georgian Period.*" Being Measured Drawings of Colonial Work, by Charles L. Hillman, Frank E. Wallis, Claude Fayette Bragdon, David Gregg, Francis Swales, Glenn Brown, and others. Parts I., II., and III. Boston: American Architect and Building News Co. 1899.

The list of American books on architecture is growing, and some of the books whose titles occur in it are of excellent quality. One of the most important is, and will remain for some time, the work which is gradually taking definite shape, and whose title is given above. In our previous notice (in June, 1898) it was assumed that there would be two parts and no more, but with the third part is issued a leaflet stating that there will be an indefinite number of parts issued in succession. The statement of the editor is to the effect that suggestions were made in the *American Architect* of last August "as to the publication of other collections of measured details of colonial work," and that the result is the publication of Part III. and the collection of material enough for a farther issue.

"Instead of issuing a fourth and final instalment, very much larger than its predecessors, we [the editors] have decided to continue the series without definite term, and allow it to become, if fortune favors, a sort of *omnium-gatherum*, to which seekers may turn in search of definite architectural information regarding architecture of the Colonial and Provincial periods, down to the revival of classic forms in the early part of this century."

It seems right, however, to review the book in its present state, because it contains already 121 plates, contributed by many architects and draughtsmen, and because it is of necessity devoid of systematic form or unity of plan, being essentially the work of different men, contributing each what has come under his own observation. It is announced, indeed, that there will be reprinted "some of the many interesting essays on the subject which have been published" in the *American Architect*; but these also will be detached essays, of course, and the collection will be rather an encyclopædia than a book, with a book's unity of purpose.

Sixteen different contributors are named on the title-pages, and on each title-page occur the final words "and others." Generally, and, perhaps, in every instance, the name of the patient student who has made the drawings is given on each plate. These sheets are crowded with matter, details being packed into the spaces left by the general drawings, and a sensible disregard of spacious and comely aspect being generally manifest. Other plates, however, are devoted to drawings in perspective, such as the very picturesque one of the Old State House in Boston; and sometimes one or two small perspective studies come in a plate with measured drawings of the structure represented. There are also a certain number of large photographic pictures, gelatine prints, which are certainly very good; only one in the first part, but eight in each of the others. These are an attraction—certainly they are an added element of strength to the publication; but its true purpose is indicated in its title "measured drawings"; that is to say, facts and figures which one may swear by. No one may be allowed to despise the two photographic views given of the beautiful circular double staircase in the New York city hall; but still the measured drawings of the front, of one pavilion

on a larger scale and on a smaller scale of a section through the rotunda and bell turret, are the immediate cause—that and their like—of the work's existence. The pains and care, the thought as well as patience, that have been put into these careful drawings, are appreciable only by those who have done the thing themselves. If the reader who is not a draughtsman, though interested in architectural work, should need a significant hint, let him observe how great is the number of books with architectural purpose which, in these later days of photography, are illustrated by pictures unaccompanied by plans, even the most rudimentary. Let him contemplate even such serious and important books as the 'Treatise on Gothic Art' by Louis Gonse, and wonder at the neglect, in so elaborate a treatise and so beautiful a book, of the obvious necessity of partial and local as well as general plans, ground plans and other. The reason for all this is that, after the photographer has been sent to the spot and has done his work, a new plant has to be made ready and a wholly new expeditionary force has to be set on foot, if even the plans (without reckoning sections, elevations, and measured details) are to be made from the building under examination. In this country of few skilled workmen, few men of leisure to pursue their studies, of scarce and dear intellectual labor, it is not so surprising that measured drawings are rare; but it is wonderful that important French or German books should ever come out without their measured details. They have skilled labor at hand and at a low rate of remuneration in those older lands; but in America we have little of it because there are greater opportunities for men to "get on" and make a rather easy living than there are for steady and deliberate intellectual work. It is the more surprising and the more admirable that this body of trustworthy drawings has been got together.

The epoch covered by these plates ranges from 1636 (the Fairbanks House at Dedham, Mass.) to about 1815, the date given for the tower and doorway of the North Church at New Haven. The student of old buildings will hope for some rendering in future parts of this publication of the valuable ancient houses of no great size and of no pretension whatever which still exist, or existed until very lately, in the old towns of Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts. It is to be observed, however, that the tendency of the book is undoubtedly towards the Georgian architecture properly so called, as well as to architecture of the Georgian period, by which is meant that a study of late classic (or, as some would say, pseudo-classic) architecture is the purpose of this publication, to the exclusion, perhaps, of buildings of freer and less academic character in their design. No fault is to be found with the work, or its projectors, if it should prove to be so limited. The most that can be said is that an appendix giving the simple clapboarded houses, with overhanging second-story pendants terminating the uprights of those upper stories, would be a good thing to have. It might almost have been expected that the Philipse Manor House at Yonkers would have been left to be included in such an appendix; but here it is in the second part. No more interesting dwelling-house exists in America. It is a survival of the much older English houses of single or simple plan—that is

to say, of those without corridors, with each room occupying the whole width of the structure and lighted from either side. A little plan in the corner of Plate 24, where the elevation and some details are given, explains this to those who do not know the interesting and curious mansion now used as the city hall of Yonkers; and there are half-a-dozen plates more of spirited and interesting detail. Plate 31 of the second part gives the front of Faneuil Hall, "the Cradle of Liberty," a tolerably uninteresting piece of architecture, but great in its associations. In Part III., Plates 21 and 22 are devoted to an important house in Philadelphia, and the plan of the house on a sufficiently large scale for intelligent study is given in the table of contents. Plate 24 is a gelatine-print of the Tudor Place at Georgetown, D. C., and this also has a plan which multiplies many times the value of the picture. From Charleston, S. C., is taken St. Paul's Church, Ratcliffeboro', dated 1819, and from the immediate neighborhood comes the church, St. James, Goosecreek, a little building which stands, or stood, alone in the open country, a mere church for the planters living around, without a village near. On the same plate with this church is the old "Stone House," Richmond, Va., which is as free from classical influence as even the New England houses whose existence was recalled in a previous sentence.

John Sullivan Dwight, Brook-Farmer, Editor, and Critic of Music: A Biography. By George Willis Cooke. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co.

Mr. Cooke, who has before now proved himself the faithful and loving Old Mortality of the epitaphs of the Transcendentalists, has added a volume of memoirs to his recently published volume of correspondence between John S. Dwight and George William Curtis. He has the advantage which belongs to a later generation, in a wider survey of facts, based on more ample materials, while he has the disadvantage of being often obliged to rely upon the memory of others, contributed in some cases at a time of life when memory grows less trustworthy. A curious instance of this occurs in the very preface, where he "corrects," evidently on some authority other than his own, a statement made in the Dwight-Curtis volume, where Curtis himself speaks in a letter of a series of papers in the *Dial* called "Ernest the Seeker" as being written by William Henry Channing. Mr. Cooke now says of these papers, "They were in reality written by William Ellery Channing, the poet (cousin of the preceding), one of Thoreau's most intimate friends and his first biographer" (p. xiv). As a matter of fact, Curtis knew perfectly well what he was writing, and whoever informed Mr. Cooke to the contrary was greatly in error. His informant doubtless confounded the half-autobiographical fragment of the elder cousin, "Ernest the Seeker," with another semi-autobiographical series in the last volume of the *Dial*, "Youth of the Poet and Painter," by the younger cousin. The two relatives were totally unlike in temperament, and no person who knew them could confound the grave and lofty meditations of William Henry Channing with the cynical humor of the other. But it must be remembered that the three Channing cousins, all having William for their first

name, and varying only in the middle name, are always the source of perplexity to historians of the Transcendental period, and Mr. Cooke only shows this further when he mentions the third cousin, Dr. William Francis Channing (inventor of the telegraphic fire-alarm), as "Mr. F. W. Channing," on a later page (p. 163).

Apart from this piece of bad luck, we have found the book singularly accurate, although even the author cannot quite master the original relation between the *Atlantic* Club and the Saturday Club, inasmuch as he attributes the origin of the *Atlantic* Club partly to James T. Fields, who, on the contrary, brought it to an end, after taking charge of the magazine, because he thought the club dinners too expensive for the more modest contributors. Mr. Cooke has, however, given undoubtedly the best description yet written of the Saturday Club, the better known and longer lived of the two. In regard to Brook Farm he has also given some additional particulars, and has brought out in some degree the curious combination of singularly sensitive men, such as Hawthorne, Bradford, and Dwight, with certain people who, as Miss Marianne Dwight wrote (p. 101), "though good in their way, yet lack that refinement which is indispensable to give a good tone to the place." These people, according to Miss Dwight, were "providentially" called away, and she adds, "It always seemed to me a great mistake to admit coarse people upon the place." How far the cattle in the barn would have been tended and fed without the aid of these coarse people, will always remain undetermined; and some light is thrown by Miss Dwight's confession upon a scene still vividly remembered, at one of the social-reform meetings in Boston during the Brook Farm period, when Dwight appealed to the chairman to silence a certain Farmer Allen, who was revealing with the most undisguised frankness some of the harmless social events of what was then called "the Community."

In the chapter on "The Autocrat of Music," we find manifested the same necessity of depending on the opinions of others who knew Dwight in his prime. Mr. Cooke does not understate the later criticisms in respect to Dwight and his work, but he does not quite recognize the fact that his work from the very beginning met with open disapproval from other men of his own time and of similar training, among whom Mr. Francis Boott was perhaps the most eminent. These men frankly expressed the opinion that Mr. Dwight had, so to speak, begun too far along, and that he had, as one of them used to say, made the whole people of Boston hypocrites in respect to Beethoven. These men also dissented from the utter contempt with which Dwight was wont to speak even of the higher class of plantation melodies as composed by Stephen C. Foster, whereas these critics maintained his music to be the spontaneous outcome of a national musical instinct as yet untrained. But whatever may be said on points like these, no one has brought out better than Mr. Cooke the service rendered by Dwight in what may be called the literary interpretation of music. He lived at a time when, as a brilliant woman said on her first visit to Boston, "Bostonians seemed to regard music, painting, and sculpture as mere branches of literature"; and of Dwight's value at that precise time there can now be little question. Mr. Cooke ad-

mirably says of this service: "Dwight translated music into literary form, showed the public what to find in it, and how to discover its profound spiritual charm and power. This is what no one else has done with anything like such beauty of language or such persuasive skill to convince and enlighten" (p. 236).

The typography and general appearance of this book are admirable, but the absence of an index is a great defect, this omission being due in all probability to the publishers. The previous volume of Curtis-Dwight letters had the same fault.

The New Economy. By Laurence Gronlund. Chicago: Herbert S. Stone & Co. 1898.

The construction of imaginary commonwealths is as agreeable to many minds as building castles in Spain—which, indeed, may not be now a synonym for delightful day-dreaming. Few people seriously believe that any of the numerous utopias which have been described by philosophers and fools will ever have a real existence, and it seems absurd to criticise these visions from the point of view of practical statesmanship. But they may be compared with one another and their differentia noted, with some useful results; for while the visions cannot be realized, there may be enough people captivated by them to make them dangerous. The book before us aims not at equality, but at the destruction of the capitalists. The difficulty with the present system is that under it "you cannot benefit the poor without benefiting the rich, and that you cannot injure the rich without injuring the poor." The remedy is for the Government to take the place of the capitalists, conduct the industries of the country itself, and thus abolish all profits. But, in the conduct of these industries, the author very rationally maintains, ability is necessary. Salaries as high as \$7,000 may wisely be paid, and the able men who now realize such prodigious profits will have to come down to this figure, or starve. It is natural to raise the objection that, in spite of the abolition of the competitive régime, these \$7,000 places will be scrambled for; indeed, that the struggle for office will be more desperate than at present. But let not the believers in equality think that their panacea of making all places equally unattractive gives their schemes any advantage. They admit that the success of these schemes depends on the elimination of selfishness; and when human beings cease to be selfish, it is hard to see why one ideal commonwealth should not answer as well as another.

On the other hand, Mr. Gronlund must not be uncharitable to rival visionaries. If he assumes modifications of human nature in order to give his system a practical air, he should not deny this liberty to other people. Hence we cannot but reprehend his denunciation of the late Edward Bellamy as an unsound teacher. He complains that Bellamy ignored ability; but Mr. Gronlund ignores it, beyond the \$7,000 limit. Bellamy also abolished the wedding-ring, favored vegetarianism, and changed the whole nature of woman; none of which changes happen to please Mr. Gronlund. But he can give no reason for his hostility except that Bellamy "shares the common American error of wanting to invent social remedies; he assumes that men can construct any social system they choose, and

so he sets up his own ideal system, and expects the people to realize it according to the sketch he has made." In short, he "entirely fails to connect with reality, and is purely a dreamer." These strictures suggest that the construction of utopias ought to be limited to people having some perception of the incongruous. The idea of one social reformer denying another liberty to "invent social remedies" is rather too startling.

Africa in the Nineteenth Century. By Edgar Sanderson. With portraits. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1898. 8vo, pp. vii, 335; map.

The aim of the author of this summary review has been to give a popular account of the principal events in the history of Africa during the last hundred years. There can be no question of his success in arousing the interest of his readers, so numerous are the stirring episodes of exploration, colonization, and conquest, both by the force of arms and by the arts of peace. Mixed with much that is evil and debasing in the white man's part in creating this new Africa, there is far more that is heroic, self-sacrificing, and encouraging. Possibly a clearer and more comprehensive knowledge of the history of the various countries would have been gained if Mr. Sanderson had treated each one as a whole before touching upon another. The value of the summary would have been increased, also, if he had dwelt less minutely on the details of campaigns and battlefields, and more fully on the equally important though less exciting political history of recent years. Space should have been found, too, for a brief mention, at least, of Emin Pasha and his rescue by Stanley, the indirect results of which are still felt in Uganda. There are here and there marks of hasty writing and the lack of careful revision, as, for instance, in the statements that Sir Harry Johnston was Commissioner of Uganda, p. 270, and that Sir Garnet Wolseley was the successor of Sir Bartle Frere as High Commissioner in South Africa, p. 279.

The portraits are of four noted Englishmen, and there is a sketch map showing the treaty boundaries, together with an excellent index.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

- Bardeen, C. W. *Authors' Birthdays.* Second Series. Syracuse: C. W. Bardeen. \$1.
Barracand, Léon. *Roberte.* Paris: Colin & Cie.
Bernhardt, W. *Baumbach's Waldnovellen.* Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. 55c.
Bliss, E. J. *Excavations at Jerusalem, 1894-1897.* London: Palestine Exploration Fund. \$2.75.
Bowyer, Lady. *The Divine Romance of Love and War.* London: Gutenberg Press.
Bradford, Gamaliel. *The Lesson of Popular Government.* 2 vols. Macmillan.
Bronson, T. B. *Hugo's Scènes de Voyage.* Henry Holt & Co.
Brontë, Anne. *The Tenant of Wildfield Hall.* 2 vols. London: Downey & Co.; New York: Scribners. \$4.
Brooke, S. A. *The Ship of the Soul.* Whittaker. 50c.
Brown, Mary W. *The Development of Thrift.* Macmillan. \$1.
Browning, Mrs. E. B. *Aurora Leigh.* [Temple Classics.] London: Dent; New York: Macmillan. 50c.
Browning, Robert. *Men and Women.* [Temple Classics.] London: Dent; New York: Macmillan. 50c.
Brunn, J. A. *An Enquiry into the Art of the Illuminated Manuscripts of the Middle Ages.* Edinburgh: David Douglas.
Bullen, F. T. *The Cruise of the Cachetot.* Appletons.
Byrd, Mary E. *A Laboratory Manual in Astronomy.* Boston: Ginn & Co. \$1.35.
Caine, Hall. *The Seapagoat.* New and revised ed. Appleton. \$1.50.
Carlyle, Thomas. *Historical Sketches.* London: Chapman & Hall; New York: Scribners. \$3.
Church, S. H. *John Marinduke: A Romance of the English Invasion of Ireland in 1649.* Putnam. 50c.
Clemens, W. M. *Theodore Roosevelt, the American.* F. T. Neely.
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